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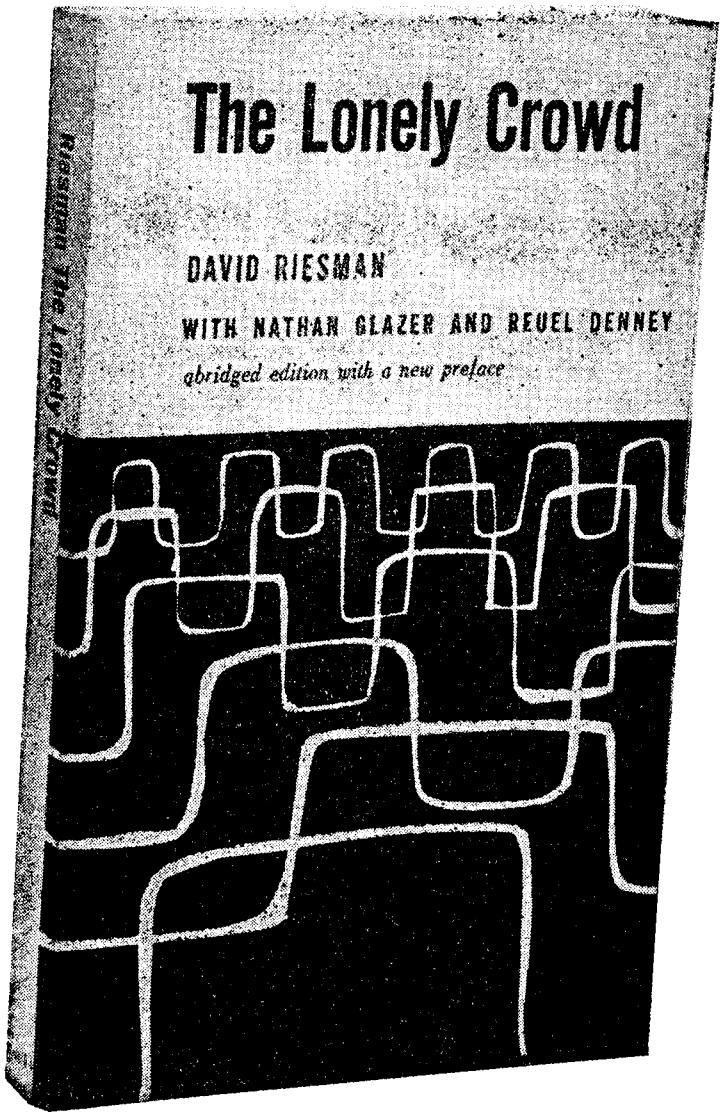

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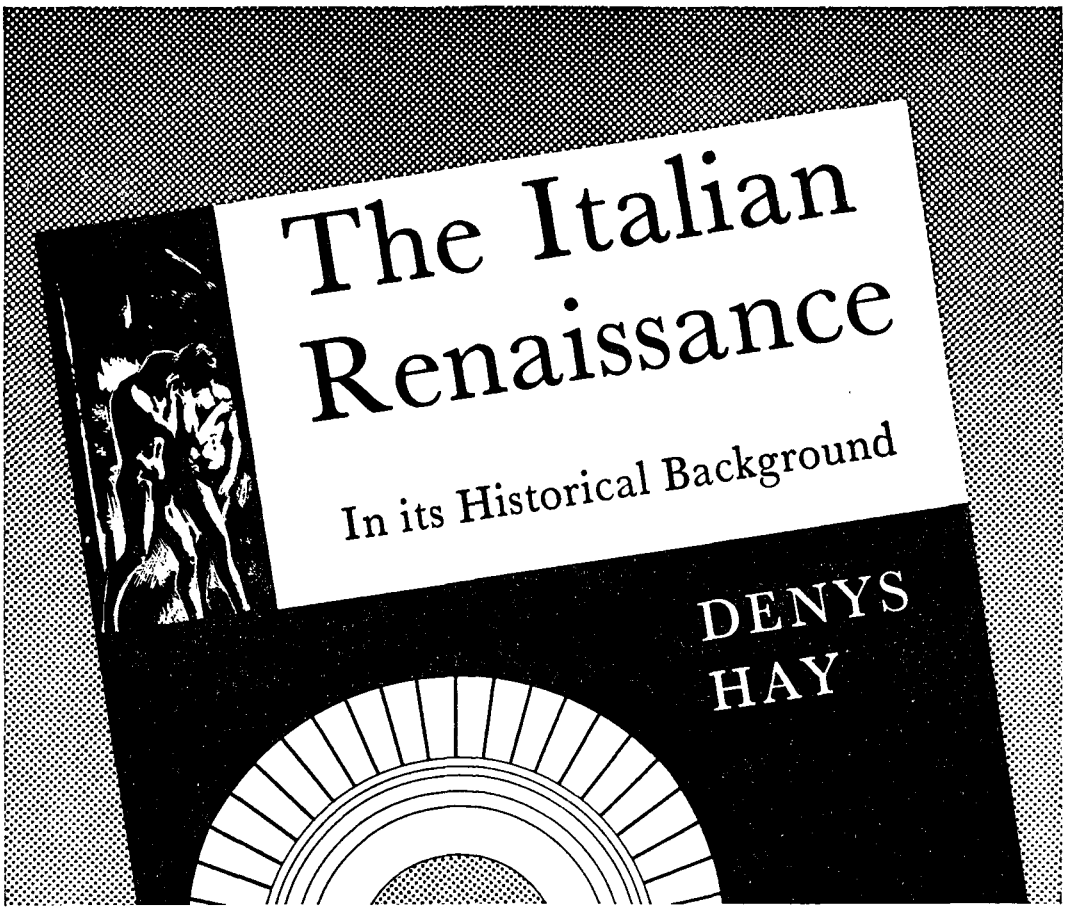

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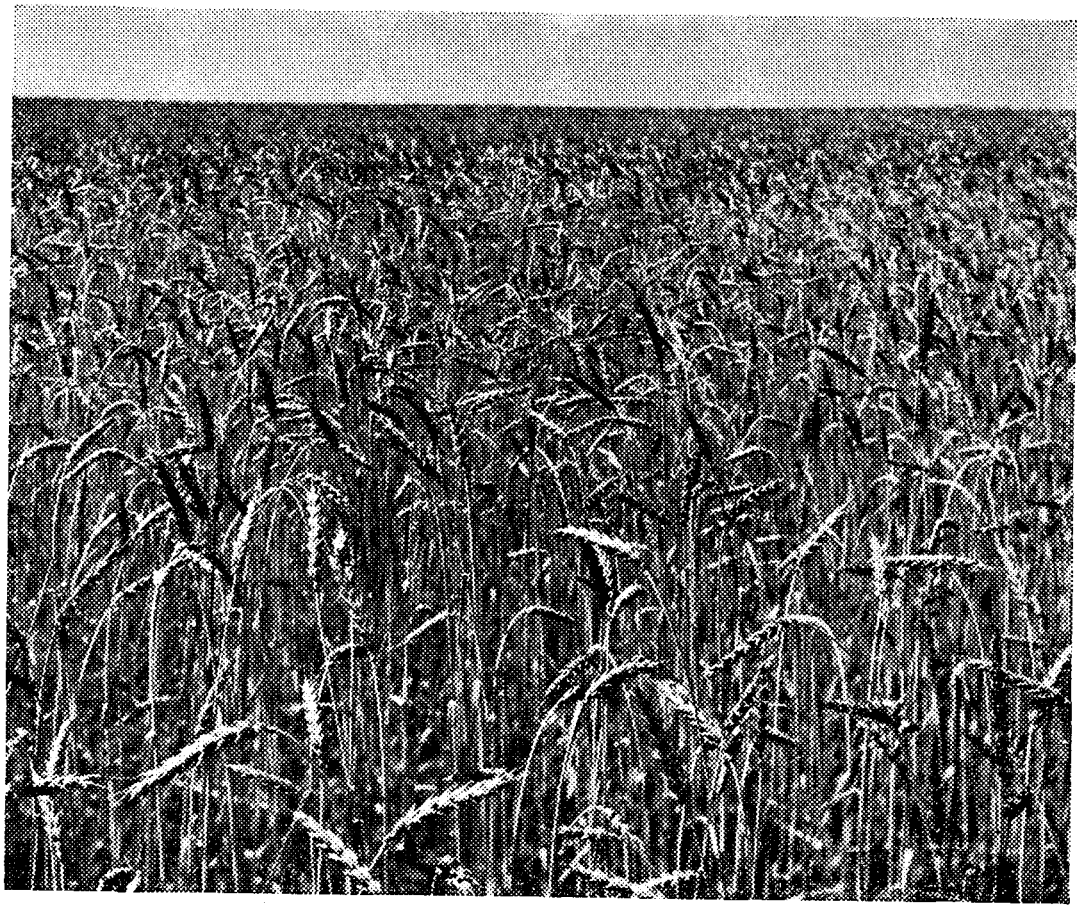

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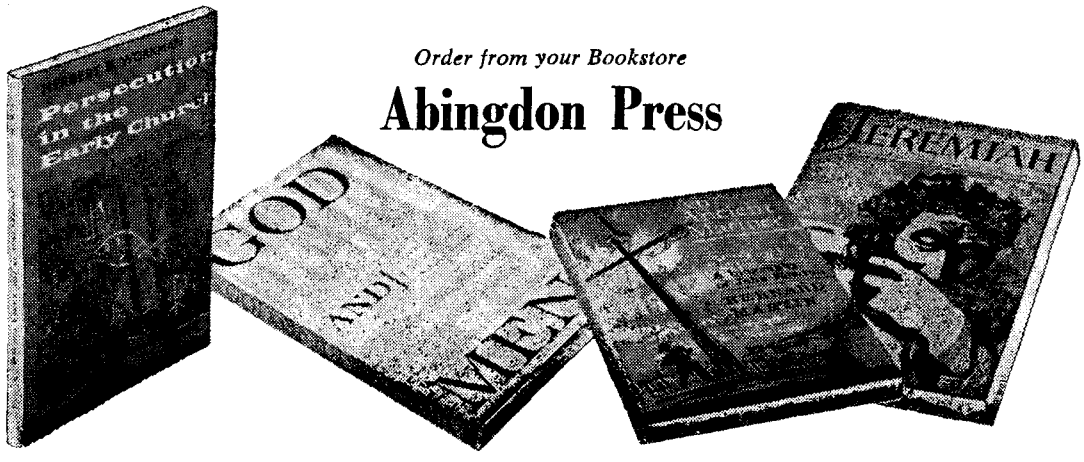

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Why We Had No Dreyfus Case

The "McCarthy Era" of American history officially ended with the censure of the Wisconsin Senator by his colleagues in the autumn of 1954. His death two and a half years later only seemed to confirm what the verdict of his fellow Senators had already announced: that the influence he had wielded over American life had vanished even more swiftly and inexplicably than it had appeared. Soon people began to speak in the past tense of the methods that had been associated with his name. The implication was that informing on others—and the subtle but tormenting fears that went along with it—had ceased to be a feature of the American scene. Those citizens (mostly intellectuals) whom revulsion from McCarthy's ways had aroused to militance relaxed their previous sense of urgency. The battle for freedom, they thought, had been triumphantly concluded.

A moment's reflection might have shown them that this was far from true. McCarthy had not succumbed to the righteous indignation of the American intellectual community. He had been condemned by his peers on narrow grounds—for little more than a breach of senatorial courtesy—and the wider issue of what he had stood for had never been settled. President Eisenhower and his immediate subordinates never admitted that they had done wrong during the year when they had tried to "appease" the demagogue from Wisconsin; Secretary of State Dulles continued to wrap himself in the garb of a moralist, and the public forgot how he had sacrificed experienced and devoted diplomats to McCarthy's wrath. It is symptomatic of the extremely limited nature of the anti-McCarthy victory that of the two Presidential candidates chosen six years later, one was thought to have opposed the senatorial resolution of censure, while the other had abstained from voting.

A few individual injustices were rectified after McCarthy's fall. But there was no wholesale rehabilitation of the innocent nor punishment of the guilty. Where a liberalization of policy occurred, as in the matter of passports, it was not President Eisenhower himself who acted, but the courts which forced a reluctant Administration to correct the abuses that had become established as public policy. Only a minority among the citizenry called for the abolition of McCarthy's forum, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. And after the Democrats gained control of the Senate and took over the subcommittee's chairmanship, it continued to coerce witnesses into "naming names" by pressures that were quieter than McCarthy's, but closely resembled them. The questioning of Linus Pauling in the summer of 1960 was a particularly notorious example of procedures that recalled the grim years from 1950 to 1954. While Senator Eastland of Mississippi was in charge, this might be explained away as a regrettable example of backwoods behavior. After Senator Dodd of Connecticut took over, it became difficult to find excuses for the conduct of a man who bore the marks of respectability and who represented one of the best educated constituencies in the country.

It is only when one talks to the very young that one realizes how devastating the

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legacy of the McCarthy years has been. The college generation of today has quite literally had to learn its political and ideological vocabulary from scratch. For the better part of a decade the motto "Don't sign or join anything" recommended itself to ambitious youth; almost no fundamental issue was publicly discussed. Not until 1957 was the post-McCarthy slumber broken with the launching of the first important nonconformist effort, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Meantime the young people and students accepted as normal the detailed scrutiny of their opinions (and even sexual attitudes) by an army of government sleuths. And we, their professors, mostly submitted to being questioned about our students, choosing the lesser evil for fear that if we refused to answer we would jeopardize their chances for public service. Yet this seemed a sorry return for the splendid fashion in which the students themselves had not told on *us* when the going was rough in the period between Eisenhower's inauguration and McCarthy's fall.

The record is not a pretty one. Very few people have anything to be proud of—no more than a distinguished minority of American intellectuals and certainly not the Democratic party. Although Adlai Stevenson made a number of noble statements during the campaign of 1952, and although many of the nonprofessional enthusiasts whom that campaign mobilized into service thought of it as a battle more against McCarthy than against Eisenhower, the majority of organization Democrats—including, of course, the young paladin who was to lead them to victory in 1960—treated the whole issue as merely peripheral and embarrassing.

Here Truman bears a heavy responsibility. No doubt he was outraged by McCarthy's methods. But he failed to do the one thing that might have cleared the air and substituted historical fact for murky suspicion. By his original gesture of dismissing the issue of Communists in government as a "red herring," he tied his party's hands for an effective defense or counterattack against such a charge in the years that followed. By refusing to admit that Communists had in fact "penetrated" the federal service during the New Deal and war years, he made it impossible to discuss honestly in public the extent of that penetration and how much it had actually accomplished.

How many Communists succeeded in entering federal service? Estimates vary, but the number cannot be higher than a few hundred, mostly in the newer war agencies. How much influence did they exert on policy? Only three or four possible Communists were ever identified in positions of high responsibility. Did the majority of Communists in government profit from their positions to engage in conspiratorial or treasonous activities? Here the answer is an emphatic no. From my own experience as a State Department official during a period when Communists were still in government service, I can vouch for the fact that most of them honestly tried to do the job assigned, with their peculiar ideology deflecting their judgment only now and then, but most of the time simply adding a certain zeal and seriousness to the performance of their duties. When and how did they leave the Federal Government? Here my memories check with the fragmentary official statements emanating from the Truman Administration. Nearly all the Communists resigned during the year and a half immediately following the war. Most left of their own volition, having concluded that the atmosphere in Washington was no longer propitious. Others were eased out, through forced resignations or intimations that their usefulness had come to an end. Some of the procedures employed in removing them were extremely harsh, and a number of non-Communists also found themselves obliged to resign, but at least the thing was done in private, the fiction of resignation was preserved, and individuals dropped from federal service did not experience as severe difficulties in finding private employment as were encountered subsequently by those purged in the McCarthy era.

These are the approximate facts. I should add a summary statement of the conclu-

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sions that historians have reached on the three areas of war and postwar policy in which Communist influence was supposed to have been most important: Yalta, China and Germany. On Yalta the evidence is conclusive. The publication of the private records of the conference in the mid-1950's proved disappointing to those Republicans who had hoped to draw political profit from them. Far from documenting any sort of treason, these papers failed to show that Alger Hiss (whose case, by the way, must be regarded as still open) had played an influential role, and further demonstrated that on one of the few occasions when he was consulted Hiss advised resistance to Soviet demands. In short, the Yalta documents contained none of the sensational revelations that Roosevelt's enemies had promised.

On China, the evidence is more tangled. But from the mass of controversy and recrimination, three central facts emerge. First, the advisers on China policy who were later pilloried and hounded from government service were guilty of nothing worse than an honest error of judgment: they underestimated the Marxist ruthlessness of the Communist leaders. Secondly, these diplomats were not Communists themselves. Third, their advice did not decisively alter the course of events. I know of no qualified expert on China who denies that Mao Tse-tung and his associates would have come to power in any case; the only remote possibility of preventing it lay in a massive American military effort which stood no chance of popular acceptance in the prevailing postwar mood of "get the boys home" as fast as possible.

On German policy alone, I think, some case for Communist influence can be made. My own impression during service as an OSS officer in Germany during the summer and autumn of 1945 was that two or three American Communists with high positions in the economic branches of military government were urging a punitive policy that was consciously intended to favor Soviet aims. But this type of assertion is extremely hard to document. At the close of the war a punitive attitude toward Germany was by no means restricted to Communists; many American Jews, for example, were understandably anxious to revenge the murder of six million of their coreligionists. Here, as in the China case, pro-Communist attitudes were not decisive in altering American actions. After a few months of confusion, our Government settled into a reasonably coherent and constructive policy of rebuilding the German economy and German democratic institutions.

Such is the defense that President Truman might have made of the first year and a half of his Administration. He might have stated quite frankly that in the "Popular Front" atmosphere of the decade 1935-1945 some Communists did indeed enter the federal service. He might have added that in the very different ideological climate of the opening phases of the cold war these Communists were quietly eased out—indeed, that virtually all of them had departed *more than two years* before McCarthy blew his opening trumpet with his famous speech detailing the number of "subversives" in the Department of State. The President might have concluded that during their brief stay in Washington the Communists had accomplished very little indeed. Truman said none of these things —or at least said none of them completely and unequivocally. This is one reason why America in the early 1950's never had its Dreyfus Case.

I mean that we did not have our Dreyfus Affair in the sense that there emerged no single test case that could serve as a symbol and a battle cry to all who felt themselves threatened or whom a more abstract indignation had aroused to champion the cause of justice. Unlike France at the turn of the century, the United States in the 1950's did not find the human being whose plight could dramatize the whole issue and whose triumphal acquittal by the courts could serve as a stinging rebuke to the Administration and a precedent for rehabilitating all the others who had suffered from the arbitrary acts of public officials.

There were two possible contenders for

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the role of test case. One, of course, was Alger Hiss, and initially many liberals rallied to his support. But as the evidence presented in Hiss's two trials became increasingly damning, most of those who had at first been ready to spring to his defense concluded that he might well be guilty—or at the very least that the case was insufficiently clear to serve as a general test. A minority of men of good will stuck with Hiss to the last and have never stopped asserting his innocence. A great many more, and I count myself among them, remained unconvinced of his guilt, or at least of his guilt *as charged by Whittaker Chambers.* In the case of Captain Dreyfus, the innocence of the accused eventually became clear to everyone not irremediably prejudiced against him. In the case of Alger Hiss, this was far from true. To this day, doubt has persisted: the overwhelming suspicion remains that for reasons that have still to be explained both the prosecution and the defense tried to conceal relevant information; the full context of the events in question has never emerged.

The case of Owen Lattimore at first sight appeared more promising. For he had been merely a government consultant rather than a public official like Hiss. (Most liberal-minded people, I think, were willing to grant, as I would, the right of the Federal Government to protect itself against spies and saboteurs by removing Communists from the truly "sensitive" positions in the foreign and defense establishments.) Moreover, in the case of Lattimore, the charge of Communist affiliation rested on nothing but innuendo; it never came remotely close to being proved. When all the deceptive verbiage of his accusers had been stripped away, the worst that could be said against him was that he had made pro-Soviet statements and given bad advice on China policy.

Surely these were insufficient reasons for pillorying him in public and suspending him from his university post. The injustice was patent. Still the American intellectual community held back: only a minority rallied to Lattimore's defense. People found all sorts of reasons for reluctance, besides the fear for their own jobs which was mostly unadmitted. Particularly, they found a lack of total candor in Lattimore's replies to Senator McCarthy. Here they forgot a simple psychological fact: it is hard to keep clearheaded and consistent in facing a bully. Beyond that, most American liberals were seeking the impossible; they were looking for a perfect test case. They forgot—if they ever knew—that Captain Dreyfus had been far from an ideal witness in his own defense, and that from the personal standpoint he left much to be desired. In the great imperfection of human affairs, ideal test cases seldom appear. We have to take our issues where we find them. We have to fight our ideological and moral battles not on ground of our own choosing, but on the foggy and swampy terrain that our enemies have selected.

But this was not all. American liberals and radicals were uneasy in their consciences. They could not spring to the defense of others because they were unsure of their own innocence.

This was McCarthy's greatest triumph. This was the abiding poison he left with us. He succeeded in creating a sense of guilt among thousands of intelligent and public-spirited people—a large part of the intellectual and moral elite of the nation. Not only did he deprive the Government of their service and counsel during a decade when these were badly needed. He crippled their own thought by stirring within them the demon of self-doubt. McCarthy and his aides had never made a systematic study of psychoanalytic theory. But their infernal intuition had revealed to them one of its essential discoveries: that it is precisely the most conscientious and scrupulous people who suffer from the heaviest burden of unconscious guilt.

Thus each man who felt even remotely threatened by the wave of "security" discharges and sanctions began to scrutinize his own conscience and to assess exactly how guilty he himself had been. There grew up a cult of fine distinctions and careful gradations of guilt. People forgot that when large moral issues are in play, fine

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distinctions are useless, or worse than useless. When spiritual and intellectual survival is at stake, as was quite literally true in this country from 1950 to 1954, it is a simple question of "we" against "they." The barricades are up, and we cannot afford to be choosy about those who are fighting beside us. Rather than splitting hairs over whether or not a Communist should be fired from a university teaching post—a common-sense answer was that he should not, since the psychological havoc on the campus that would result from his discharge far outbalanced any presumed gain in protecting the minds of the young—the liberal intellectuals would have done better to close ranks and to proclaim their solidarity with the vast majority of the accused. Nor would they have had to make an explicit exception for the tiny minority of spies and saboteurs whom millions of man-hours of government sleuthing every so often unearthed. For these did not fall into the category of the ideologically persecuted. They came rather under the jurisdiction of the ordinary criminal procedure by which *any* government—even the most tolerant, like that of Great Britain—has traditionally tried to protect itself from harm.

What exactly did liberals find themselves guilty of when they scrutinized their own consciences? "Softness" toward Russia? Illusions about Communist China? A nostalgia for the Soviet-American solidarity that had won the struggle against fascism? A failure to detect the Communist inspiration of their acquaintances who had involved them in fine-sounding "front" activities? That was about all. What it added up to was a rather vague and blundering protest against the dissolution of the anti-fascist solidarity of wartime and the drift toward the division of the world into two armed camps in the years after 1945.

More concretely, the ideological attitude of many liberals in the later 1940's betrayed two serious weaknesses. It indulged in "wave of the future" reasoning, assuming the eventual victory of communism without inquiring sufficiently what could be done to deflect its triumphant course, and softening the outlines of communism itself to make that victory more palatable. It also inclined toward overcompensation. Suspecting that the anti-Communists exaggerated the abuses of Soviet despotism, a large number of generous-minded Americans jumped to the conclusion that the reverse must be true. They found it difficult to believe in the reality of the Russian forced-labor camps. They refused to plumb the depths of evil in Stalin's soul: they had vented the one great hatred of their lives on the person of Hitler, and they could not summon up the same unforgiving wrath against a second tyrant. For tens of thousands of articulate Americans over the age of thirty, the struggle against fascism had been the central moral experience of their youth; they did not have the heart to remobilize their energies for another such combat.

The chief sin of this type of thinking was what came to be called "anti-anti-communism." To balance its lack of realism, we may recall certain of its other aspects which seemed utopian at the time but which ten years later have a much more sensible look: a refusal to consider the world as irrevocably split and a concern for keeping open bridges across the great ideological divide, more particularly to those nations (like India) or groups (like European neutralists) that were trying to remain uncommitted in the cold war. Such were the constructive features of the "anti-anti-Communist" position. Along with them went a prophetic understanding of the moral debasement that the anti-Communist crusade would inflict on the American people.

For all their faults, Americans of this variety did far less harm than their adversaries.[1] They also did less harm than the other kind of liberals who aided in the early stages of the anti-Communist drive from 1945 to 1950. After McCarthy himself went into action and pushed the campaign against "subversives" far beyond their orig-

[1] I scarcely need add that I dissent strenuously from what I regard as a pernicious conclusion by Leslie A. Fiedler ("We liberals . . . have . . . done great evil.") in "Hiss, Chambers, and the Age of Innocence," *An End to Innocence* (Boston: Beacon Press paperback, 1955), p. 24.

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inal intention, many of the anti-Communist liberals regretted what they had done—as one, I remember, was honest enough to tell me at the high point of the Senator's power in 1953. But by then it was too late. He and his fellow Sorcerers' Apprentices had helped to unleash forces over which they had totally lost control.

A moral debasement—that was the ultimate legacy of the McCarthy era. Or rather, a moral numbness. Most people were not corrupted by what they went through or what they saw going on around them. They were simply stunned by it. Better still, they were confirmed in a habit of mental dissociation and compartmentalized thinking that the conclusion of the war itself had made a psychological necessity.

When the atomic bomb dropped over Hiroshima in August 1945, I recall sensing that the world had suddenly stood still and that life would never be the same again. I suspect a great many of my countrymen felt the same way. The experience was not exactly one of personal or national guilt. It was that something so awful (in both senses of the term) had happened that the usual criteria for judging men and events would no longer serve. It was an *impersonal* experience—a shock from outside so enormous that the only way one felt able to deal with it was by dissociating oneself and refusing to think about it. More than a decade was to pass before I could bear to concentrate my mind on the question of nuclear warfare.

The shock of Hiroshima confirmed a national tendency that had begun to manifest itself with the terror bombing of German cities in the two years preceding. It marked a further, and perhaps decisive, stage in an erosion of moral responses. Our ruthless obliteration of German dwellings and cultural landmarks—far beyond any clear military necessity—had evoked almost no protest at home; the same lack of moral indignation was apparent a half decade later when the American public accepted as quite natural the napalm bombing of Korean villages. Those rare individuals who did object usually did so in the privacy of their own consciences. Public protest seemed futile: a pall of dull acceptance settled over the American soul.

It would be tempting to investigate how much this change in attitude had to do with the vogue of a fatalistic neoreligiosity that became apparent at the same time. Certainly the young people who in these years took so kindly to Kierkegaard and Dostoevski found in such authors' bleak acceptance of the evils of the human condition a reflection of their own sense of moral impotence. It was the same with *one kind* of Existentialism. Americans were not attracted by the activist, ethically strenuous and socially conscious emphasis in the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre. They found congenial, rather, Existentialism's analysis of the absurdities of life and the impossibility of unambiguous moral choices.

If we add to this religious and philosophical fatalism, two further elements—the lack of major public debate on crucial issues, and the substantial reconciliation of intellectuals to the *status quo* (through comfortable jobs, research contracts and the like)—we can begin to assess the full dimensions of the post-Hiroshima and post-McCarthy transformation. First came a deadening of sensibility. On this followed bewilderment and a feeling that problems had become too big and complex for the mere individual citizen to grasp (with both the national Administration and the intellectuals aiding the process by insisting that only "experts" were qualified to express opinions). Finally ensued a *privatization* of life, a tendency on the part of each man to retreat to the cultivation of his own suburban garden. The vast majority of the accused in the McCarthy era had not the slightest desire to see their own woes made into test cases or matters of public concern. They ran for cover instead. Most cases of injustice never came to light and were correspondingly difficult to rectify after McCarthy's fall. This was still another reason why we had no Dreyfus Case.

In some moral dilemmas it is worse to be pettily right than nobly in error. Such could be said of countless Americans who in the

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course of becoming properly "sophisticated" about communism lost their capacity for honest indignation. They forgot that every ideological commitment involves the risk of making a mistake, and that people who always play it safe make no contribution to awakening or enlightening their countrymen. Nor did the harm stop here. For a whole decade, school teachers and college professors denied their students the long-sanctioned right of the young to seek their own path and learn from their own errors. Most of the men and women who came of age in the decade 1948-1957, and who are now in their late twenties and early thirties, never knew what they were missing. Only a few of them were aware of their loss, and these I remember as bemused students, nostalgic for the ideological experiences that had passed them by.

Suddenly in the spring of 1960 I realized with a shock that a new student generation had sprung into life. In the widespread demonstrations against racial segregation a new age group had won its political spurs. The picketings and meetings of that spring involved only a minority of college students. But this minority was soon recognizable as the intellectually active and devoted which in each generation takes the moral lead. And the fact that its energies subsequently turned toward activities on behalf of peace suggested that its concern for racial equality formed part of a wider protest against inhumane behavior at home and abroad.[2]

To those of us who had grown discouraged by a lack of response among our immediate juniors, the discovery of this new student generation has been immensely heartening. It has given us a chance to leap over a ten-year span and take up again where we left off when the ideological blight descended upon America. In my own intellectual community of Greater Boston, such efforts as the review *Dissent* and the neoradical Committee of Correspondence have been notably reinforced by support from the very young.

[2] For a survey of student organizations and attitudes, see Michael Harrington, "Notes on the Left," *The New Leader*, XLIV (May 22, 1961), pp. 15-18.

Yet this support comes to us with a difference. We who regard ourselves as stimulators of a New Left realize that our student allies do not think exactly as we do. To them, we seem talky and old-fashioned. They are impatient with words and with theories; they dislike the vocabulary of leftist democracy that to my age group is second nature. They prefer factual analysis—and direct action where possible. Impatient with ideological rhetoric, they find almost incomprehensible the pro-Communist and anti-Communist polemics that shook the American Left in the decades from 1917 to 1948.

Basically, I think this is a good thing. I find it healthy that the students of today are starting off afresh with so little concern for old ideological battles; in this sense—as having wiped the slate clean—our country's ten-year slumber has been of positive benefit. I shall be quite happy to see the young people take leadership from us and direct the new radicalism of America into courses we would never have imagined. I agree that most of the traditional phraseology of the Left has become worn and stale. I should welcome being treated as an old fogey if it should mean a new vigor and inspiration on the part of the young.

Yet in another sense it is too early for us to abdicate. The political virginity of today's students is wonderful—but it is also disconcerting. It is a curious experience for a person like myself who has been accused of "softness" toward Soviet Russia to find himself obliged to explain in the most elementary terms the differences between Communism and a free society. The experience of recent history is still relevant. The student generation of today can learn from the record of a yesterday that is fast sinking into legend or forgetfulness. It is for them primarily that I have dredged up the slime of an era that no one can recall without shame—in the hope that when *they* are confronted with their Dreyfus Case they will rise to the challenge better than we did in the years of our country's supreme moral crisis.

H. Stuart Hughes

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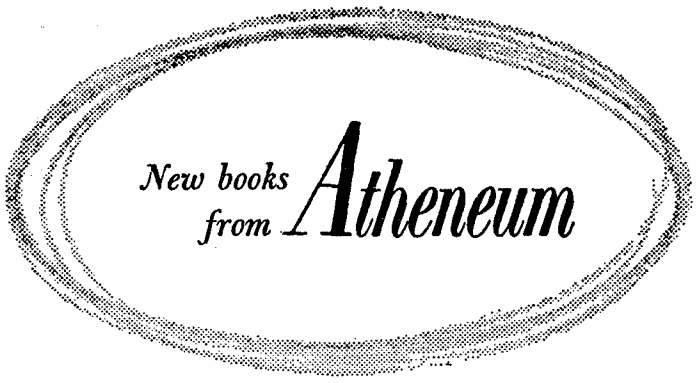

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The Kennedy Administration: The Early Months

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

PERHAPS NOTHING HAS DONE A GREATER DISSERVICE to the Kennedy Administration than its own jejune slogan, "the new frontier." It has the initial vice of obscurity; President Kennedy, both as candidate and officeholder, has variously defined it as the challenge posed by new problems, a program to meet those problems, and the spirit in which Americans are to respond to the challenge. But worse, the phrase, with its implicit suggestion of dramatic initiatives and a sharp break with the past, arouses false hopes and distracts attention from both the problems the new Administration faces and the way in which it proposes to meet them.

If the early months of the Kennedy Administration demonstrate anything, they demonstrate there are no new problems and no essentially new ways of meeting them. Elections occur, Presidents come and go, but the three fundamental problems confronting American statesmen remain stubbornly what they were sixteen years ago when the United States emerged from World War II into the cold war: how to contain the outward thrust of Soviet imperialism, how to bring the underdeveloped countries out of the past without subjecting them to the rigors of totalitarian tyranny, and how to manage our industrial economy, the foundation of the nation's greatness, without inflation or depression.

Because of a stale tradition in American politics (the New Nationalism, the New Freedom, the New Deal, the New America, not to mention Modern Republicanism and the Great Crusade),

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Kennedy unfortunately felt that he, too, needed a catchword that would connote newness, modernity, action. It would have been more honest and more educational for his fellow citizens if he had frankly avowed that the problems were old and stubborn, that he had no new solutions for them, and that all he or any man could offer was a vigorous, intelligent effort to cope with them. It may be the final proof of the nation's maturity when by common consent, politicians and citizens alike, we admit that for nations, as for individuals, problems are not so much solved as managed: there are no new frontiers nor brave new worlds to which we can escape.

The real motif of Kennedy's campaign was Let's get going, Let's get America moving again. This is an aspiration not easily reduced to a satisfactory slogan. Yet it comes closer to expressing what the new President and his colleagues essentially represent, which is a fresh access of executive energy, verve and venturesomeness. There is also a warmer hospitality to ideas and differing viewpoints. But, it is important to note, there has been no fundamental re-examination of the leading ideas in any major area. On the basic issues of the cold war with the Soviet Union, for example, the Kennedy Administration has not veered from the concepts developed by George Kennan, Dean Acheson and others in the 1946-49 period.

Kennedy and his advisers do not think the basic issues of the cold war are negotiable; only a fundamental shift in the nature and dynamism of the Communist empire could make a negotiated settlement practical and durable. For that reason, they have not moved American policy toward agreements on spheres of interest or neutralized zones in Eastern Europe or Asia. They have been unwilling to take any extensive gambles on disarmament. They have not dismantled any military alliances. They have not recognized Communist China. In short, the Kennedy Administration has not taken any of the conceivable initiatives favored by left-wing and neopacifist critics of America's postwar foreign policy.

Before the Berlin crisis, the Administration had likewise not taken any measures favored by those who think the cold war is already almost a hot war and that the only solution is military force or the threat of force. There had been no major mobilization of

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America's armed strength, no drastic increase in the military budget, no shift to a more aggressive course. In Laos and Cuba, the Administration carefully avoided any direct military involvement.

If I. F. Stone was disappointed, so was Joseph Alsop. If the editors of the *Nation* were not enthusiastic, neither were the editors of the *National Review*. Kennedy promised to get America moving again; he did not say anything about getting it moving in a different direction.

The mix remained as before. Dean Acheson, one of the founders of NATO, is the President's chief adviser on the revitalization of that alliance. Acheson has also been advising on West Berlin as that crisis re-emerged in the summer of 1961. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, is an Acheson protégé. On disarmament matters, the President turned to two veteran members of "the establishment," Arthur Dean, the late John Foster Dulles' law partner, and John McCloy, the former head of the Chase Manhattan Bank. The selection of Dean and McCloy, two eminent Republicans, was dictated primarily by political considerations since the Administration would need Republican assistance to get any disarmament treaty through the Senate, but since the President worked in complete harmony with both men, no grounds exist for believing these politically inspired choices were not also intellectually congenial to him.

As his chief staff assistant in foreign affairs, Kennedy chose McGeorge Bundy, the biographer of Henry Stimson and the compiler of Acheson's official papers. His choices for major ambassadorships were equally orthodox: to London, a man who had served as ambassador under both Truman and Eisenhower; to Paris, a general; and to Rome, a career diplomat.

These appointments are significant only as they underline this Administration's continuity with the past and symbolize its traditional approach to policy making. In the cold war the United States, now as in the previous two Administrations, relies upon the deterrent power of military strength, and upon political alliances, propaganda and conventional diplomacy.

What is true for the cold war is true also for the problems of the underdeveloped countries and for the national economy. Kennedy's

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"alliance for progress" in Latin America and his Peace Corps take up where Truman's Marshall Plan and Point Four began, and where Eisenhower's Inter-American Bank and "atoms for peace" projects left off. Eisenhower's purposes in the foreign aid field were often savagely undercut by some of his less enlightened subordinates from the business world, but the grand design of his policy in this field was always clear.

Kennedy's handling of the recession that he inherited from Eisenhower was only moderately more spirited that it would have been if his Republican predecessor had continued in office. The appointment of Douglas Dillon, a holdover from the Eisenhower Administration, as Secretary of the Treasury exemplified Kennedy's cautious, pragmatic approach to economic policy making. He wants to combine the best insights of liberal, Keynesian thought and orthodox central bank theory, but commit himself to neither.

To emphasize the basic conservatism of the Kennedy Administration and its many links with the past is not to deny that, within the inherited framework of national policy, this regime represents some interesting shifts in style and outlook.

John Fischer, writing in *Harper's* a dozen years ago, defined the difference between a Roosevelt New Dealer and a Truman Fair Dealer as about thirty pounds. The ulcerous, hot-eyed, skinny intellectuals who were "going to make America over" had given way to paunchy, good-natured courthouse politicians and settled bureaucratic types. That definition would also hold true for the Kennedy men; not everyone may play touch football but this is not a fat man's administration. More recently, Walter Lippmann suggested the difference between the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations was about thirty years. This is also true; this is very much a young man's administration.

One of the professors left behind in Cambridge after Kennedy completed his raid on the Harvard faculty has privately offered still a third definition. "From Eisenhower to Kennedy," he said, "is a shift from the 'gentleman's C' boys to the Phi Beta Kappas." This is also true. There are, of course, men of brains in every Ad-

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ministration but Kennedy cultivates, admires and relies upon the men of the intellectual community—the universities, the foundations and research centers—just as Eisenhower did the business community. The result is an Administration highly educated and notably literate and articulate.

Another distinguishing characteristic is political skill. Kennedy during his rise to the Presidency never engaged the services of a public relations firm because, as an aide once explained, "They never showed us anything they could do for us that we don't already know how to do for ourselves." Richard Nixon, ironically, was haunted in the 1960 campaign by the fear of being tagged as the "Madison Avenue candidate," but it was actually his successful opponent who had mastered and assimilated whatever is politically usable in the techniques and insights of Madison Avenue. Truman and Eisenhower, notwithstanding their dissimilar personalities, were superb natural politicians. Each had an instinct for where his main strength lay and an ease and confidence in handling voters en masse. Kennedy has already developed a comparable poise and assurance; moreover, he stands well above his immediate predecessors in his expert knowledge of the politics of each state, his skill in gaining publicity and cultivating the press, and his adroitness in using the machine politicians for his purposes rather than being used by them for theirs. It seems reasonable to expect on the basis of his career thus far that he will establish himself in the history of the Presidency as a domestic political strategist and party leader rivaling Franklin Roosevelt.

Of all the characteristics that the President and his colleagues possess, ranging from leanness and youth to articulateness and political sophistication, perhaps the single most important is simply youth. This is a new generation in power. Although there are several men on the White House staff and in the agencies who are still in their early thirties and two or three figures of real influence who are past sixty, power, to an extraordinary extent, is wielded by men between the ages of forty and fifty. This means that the top echelon of government has a rather uniform body of experience. It is made up of men old enough to remember clearly the great depression of

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the thirties but young enough not to have been scarred permanently by it nor to have any emotional investment in the ideological quarrels of that decade. They are children of the New Deal; Roosevelt and the New Dealers provided, politically speaking, the background of their adolescent and college years. They are men young enough to have served in World War II. They have made their mature careers in the years of the cold war. War and the threat of war, therefore, have become part of the natural fabric of their lives in a way that they are not for the older generation.

The effect of this common experience has been to produce a group of politicians and administrators remarkably moderate, pragmatic, restrained and low-keyed. Unlike many of the New Dealers of thirty years ago, they have no illusions about remaking America. Crusades are not their style; fanaticism is foreign to them. They are men of power who enjoy high office because they like to run things. They are "inside dopesters" who have an insatiable curiosity about public affairs. (There is no talk in this Administration about public service being a burden, no nostalgia for the joys of private life in Grosse Pointe or Winnetka.) Their approach to politics is managerial and manipulative.

From the President on down, understatement is the prevailing style. This is partly in reaction to the fervor and outsized rhetoric of the thirties that Truman warmed over and served up as Fair Deal hash. It is also a carry-over from the war; anyone in military service who boasts about his status in civilian life or, even worse, his deeds in combat is regarded by his fellows as a phony. The close brush with death that Kennedy and several of his colleagues had during their wartime service has also instilled a certain fatalism. It would not ordinarily occur to officials around the White House to say, "that's how the ball bounces," but some of the fatalism summed up in this expression (originated by G. I.'s during the Korean War) infects the mood of this Administration as, indeed, it does the mood of the entire country.

This fatalism, this emotional reserve, this tendency to downplay and understate does not, however, preclude a ferocious aggressiveness and will to win. It merely modulates and curbs its expression.

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One highly placed official, not a member of the Kennedy inner circle but handsomely rewarded for his critical help in the Presidential primaries, has remarked privately: "Kennedy is not the kind of leader who strikes sparks or stirs people up, but he does want to win. In the clinches, he's always in there, giving everything he's got."

What has not become clear about the Kennedy Administration is the political philosophy and the moral context in which this *expertise* and competitiveness are centered. The politics of those closest to the President, the group sometimes called "the Irish Mafia" (although the most influential, Theodore Sorenson, is a Nebraska Unitarian), is personal, not programmatic. They do not see Kennedy as an instrument for putting into effect a social program. On the contrary, their first criterion, sometimes their sole criterion, on every important problem is: how will this help "the boss" get re-elected in 1964? This preoccupation with the political welfare of John F. Kennedy is not in itself deplorable but it is not a preoccupation that provides any dependable, objectively valid guidelines in making up one's mind about a specific person or problem.The Kennedy staff has filled this intellectual vacuum by developing a cult of toughness. Individuals are chosen or rejected quickly, often arbitrarily, on the basis of whether they seem "tough" or "soft." What is wanted are men who can handle their own problems—with Congress, with the press, with other bureaucrats—and not get themselves in trouble or embarrass the President. There is at work here a subtle glorification of the decision-making process as such, independent of the content of the decisions, an exaltation of managerial style over substance. In terms of policies, this cult of toughness provides a built-in bias toward the course that seems most realistic, most clearly grounded in existing fact, most readily defensible in the immediate future. This attitude tends to drain out enthusiasm; it inhibits rather than inspires idealism, and over the long term may serve as the invisible leash on the leap of the President's imagination and on the range and pace of his policy initiatives. Realism carried to excess is earthbound.

Power-oriented pragmatism served Kennedy well in the tricky

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waters of domestic politics where every reef and shoal could be expertly sounded and charted. It did not sustain him in the weeks leading up to the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba last April. In foreign affairs a President can never hope to know all the factors as well as he knows the political methods of West Virginia or the inner strains and stresses of the California delegation. He must, of necessity, fall back either upon a reasoned set of philosophical and moral convictions or upon naked intuition. If Kennedy had deeply and firmly believed that political warfare is the only way effectively to combat a totalitarian radical like Castro, he would have instinctively and at once rejected the military adventure proposed by the Central Intelligence Agency. But he did not so believe, gambled on force and lost.

The Cuban defeat shook the morale of the President and his Administration, and many weeks passed before the effect wore off. But one failure is not the whole story. The Cuban invasion may be an omen of other and worse mistakes to come, or it may have been only a brief, painful learning experience in the education of a great President. Only future events can make clear whether Kennedy has the moral vision necessary to give steady leadership and fulfill the promise of his intellectual force and political acumen.

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Notes on the Establishment In America

RICHARD H. ROVERE

JUST ABOUT EVERYONE NOW AGREES that there is an Establishment in America. A sure sign of the soundness and widespread acceptance of the idea is the commissioning of an article on it by the AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Conceptions of the Establishment differ greatly, of course. Hilary Masters, a member of the promising and exciting Dutchess County school of sociologists, defined it in a recent lecture as "the legitimate Mafia." To William F. Buckley, Jr., and his collaborators on the *National Review* (the publication that imported the term from England and has done the most to give it American currency) it is almost interchangeable with "the Liberal Machine," which turns out "the Liberal Line." Their Establishment includes everyone in the country except themselves[1] and the great, hidden, enlightened majority of voters who would, if only they were given the chance, put a non-Establishment man in the White House and have John Kenneth Galbraith recalled from India or left there and relieved of his passport. Galbraith, himself a pioneer in the field of Establishment studies, sees the Establishment as a rather small group of influential men who embody the best of the Conventional Wisdom and can be trusted with substantial grants of power by any responsible group in the country. The perfect Establishment figure, in his view, would be the Republican called to service in a Democratic administration (for example, the present Secretary of the Treasury) or the *vice versa*. "They are the *pivotal* figures," he once said (italics his) in an exclusive interview with a representative of the

[1] It is characteristic of most thinkers and writers on the subject to define the Establishment in such a way as to keep themselves far outside it and even victimized by it. They tend toward a mild paranoia.

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AMERICAN SCHOLAR. That was before his election to the Board of this publication and his appointment as the Establishment's man in New Delhi. (He is not a member of *his* Establishment, however, for he could not hope to be held over in a Republican administration.)

To my way of thinking, the idea yields the most when we conceive of Establishment functions in the broadest terms and of membership as quite exclusive and hierarchical but not small. The Establishment reaches into all major institutions but does not, obviously, control them all. There are powerful anti-Establishment forces at work, and frequently they prevail. I think it clear, for example, that the Establishment has never found a way to control Congress and that it has poor representation in such fields as television, motion pictures and advertising. Nevertheless, it is that group that gives American society its directions, that fixes major goals and that constitutes itself a ready pool of manpower for the more exacting labors of leadership. Its powers are greatest in the Executive and Judicial branches of government, in education, in organized religion and in science. It is in effective control of the new world that has been created by the philanthropic foundations.

The Establishment, as I see it, is not at any level a membership organization, and in the lower reaches it is not organized at all. In the upper reaches, some divisions have achieved a high degree of organization and centralization and, consequently, of exclusiveness and power. The directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, for example, make up a sort of Presidium for that part of the Establishment that seeks to control our destiny as a nation. The presidents and the senior professors of the great Eastern universities frequently organize themselves as *ad hoc* Establishment committees. Now and then the Executive Committee regroups as a kind of front organization for some particular end. For example, when anti-Establishment forces in Congress threatened the President's foreign aid program last summer, the Establishment, at the President's request, formed the Citizens Committee for International Development and managed to bull through most of what the President wanted. The Establishment has always favored foreign aid. It is,

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in fact, an issue on which Establishment discipline may be invoked.

Is there a Chairman of the Establishment? The question has troubled a number of people. It would be easy, of course, to say that when, as happens most of the time, the Establishment has a man of its own in the White House, he automatically becomes Chairman—just as he automatically becomes Commander-in-Chief. I don't believe this to be the case. For one thing, the Establishment rarely has one of its tried and trusted members elected President. Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy have both served the Establishment and been served by it, but neither is or ever was a member of the Inner Circle. Both, indeed, were admitted with some reluctance on the part of senior members, and Eisenhower's standing has at times been most insecure.

I am not sure who the real Chairman of the Establishment is today, although I would not be altogether surprised to learn that he was Dean Rusk. I did get the name of the 1958 chairman, though, and was rather proud of myself for doing so. In that year, I discovered that J. K. Galbraith had for some time been secretly at work in Establishment studies, and he told me that he had found out who was running the thing. He tested me by challenging me to guess the man's name. I thought hard for a while and was on the point of appointing Arthur Hays Sulzberger, of the *New York Times,* the official Establishment daily, when suddenly the right name sprang to my lips. "John J. McCloy," I said, "Chairman of the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank; once a partner in Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, and also in Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood, as well as, of course, Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy; former United States High Commissioner in Germany; former President of the World Bank; liberal Republican; chairman of the Ford Foundation and the Council on Foreign Relations; Episcopalian." "That's the one," Galbraith said. He congratulated me for having guessed what it had taken him so much patient research to discover.

The Establishment is not monolithic in structure or inflexible in doctrine. In economic affairs, the accepted range is from about

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as far left as, say, Walter Reuther to about as far right as, say, Dwight Eisenhower. A man cannot be for *less* welfare-ism than Eisenhower, and to be further left than Reuther would be considered excessive or eccentric. (Setting the limitations on the left is not much of a problem, though, for the left has in recent years inched toward the center; the only extreme positions are on the right, and these are inadmissible.) There are certain forbidden views. As I have said, opposition to foreign aid is one of them. Opposition to integration is another, unless it is mere token opposition. The only white Southern members of the Establishment in good standing are reconstructed Southerners or ones the Establishment has reason to believe would be reconstructed if political circumstances would allow it. Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, for example, is a pillar of the Establishment even though he votes with the unenlightened on racial matters. The Executive Committee accepts him because it assumes his heart to be in the right place. He is, after all, a Rhodes scholar and a former university president.

The Establishment is at present having a most difficult time with those of its members—clergy, scientists and academicians in the main—who have joined the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The Executive Committee has no use at all for this organization and would deal quite sharply with its supporters if they did not include so many people who incorporate most of the Establishment virtues. Exactly what stand it will take remains to be seen.

In nonpolitical affairs, great doctrinal latitude is not only tolerated but encouraged. In religion, the Establishment is rigorously disestablishmentarian. It allows all varieties of belief except the most aggressive ones. Billy Graham is looked down upon. So is Norman Vincent Peale—not so much because he is theologically aggressive as because he is politically troublesome and intellectually frivolous.

Generally speaking, it may be said that those principles and policies that have the editorial support of the *New York Times* are at the core of Establishment doctrine. And those irregularities and eccentricities that receive sympathetic *consideration* in the *Times* (particularly in the Sunday Magazine and the Book Review) are within the range of Establishment tolerance.

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The *Times* has no close rival as an Establishment voice. Most Establishment members get at least one other newspaper, though, to keep up with Walter Lippmann and Joseph Alsop.

There are some specialized magazines but no general mass-circulation ones that can be described as official or semiofficial organs. I have pondered long over the case of *Time* and have concluded that it has no real place in the Establishment. It goes too far in attacking Establishment positions, and it has treated many Establishment members with extreme discourtesy and, at times, with vulgarity. The Establishment fears it, of course, and it now and then shows cravenness in its attempts to appease it by putting Henry Luce on some commission or other (on freedom of the press, national goals and so forth), but *Time* must be considered as outside the Establishment.

Now that the control of *Newsweek* has passed to Philip L. Graham, the publisher of the *Washington Post,* it may be that the Establishment will adopt it as an official weekly.

Naturally, *Foreign Affairs* is, within its field, the *Pravda* of the Establishment.

Harper's, the *Atlantic* and the *New Yorker* all have Establishment clienteles. The *Saturday Review* once enjoyed excellent standing but no longer does. The *New Republic* is coming up.

It is interesting to observe the workings of the Establishment in Presidential politics. As I have pointed out, it rarely fails to get one of its members, or at least one of its allies, into the White House. In fact, it generally sees to it that both nominees are men acceptable to it. It is never powerful enough, though, to control a nominating convention or actually to dictate nominations. But the great unwashed who man the delegations know the power of the Establishment and want their choices to be acceptable. Over the years, a deal has been worked out that now is almost an operating rule of American politics. It can be formulated in this way: *When an Establishment man is nominated for the Presidency, the Vice-Presidential candidate must be a non-Establishment man. When the Establishment is denied the Presidential nomination, it must be given the Vice-Presidential nomination.*

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The system has worked almost perfectly for the last thirty years. The only non-Establishment figure in the White House has been Harry Truman, and he had been Roosevelt's Vice President. Putting Henry Wallace aside, as a pretty far-out case, and not counting Alben Barkley, as a Vice President's Vice President, the Vice Presidents—John Nance Garner, Harry Truman, Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson—have all been outsiders. Now observe what happens when the Establishment has to yield first place, as it had to at the Republican convention in 1960. Richard Nixon simply could not be denied the nomination. So the Establishment Republicans were given Henry Cabot Lodge. There was a similar case in 1936, when the Republicans went outside the Establishment to make Alf Landon their candidate and ran Frank Knox, the publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* and later Roosevelt's Secretary of War, for Vice President. Four years later, the Establishment secured the nomination for Wendell Willkie and returned the Vice Presidency (Charles McNary) to the opposition. In 1944 it was Dewey (Establishment) and Bricker (Non). The Establishment was particularly powerful in 1948 and not only got Dewey but Earl Warren. In 1952, the usual deal was made in both parties—Eisenhower *vs.* Stevenson (Establishment) and Nixon *vs.* John Sparkman (Non).

The Russians have caught on to the existence of the Establishment and understand some of its workings quite well. Nikita Khrushchev showed himself to be no slouch when he told Walter Lippmann, last spring, that President Kennedy was controlled by Nelson Rockefeller. Many people regarded this as depressing evidence of the grip of old-school Marxism on Khrushchev's mind. They thought he was mistaking a faded symbol of industrial and mercantile power for the real wielder of authority under People's Capitalism. He was doing nothing of the sort. He was facing the facts of Establishment life. Not as a Standard Oil heir but as an Establishment agent, Nelson Rockefeller had forced the Republicans to rewrite their platform so that it conformed very closely to Chester Bowles's Democratic platform and provided for a vigorous anti-Communist defense program. Where did the central ideas of both platforms originate? In—where else?—the studies made by

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the Rockefeller Panel for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and published as *Prospects for America.* Who was on the Rockefeller Panel? Here are just a few of the names, left and right:

Dean Rusk	Lucius D. Clay
Chester Bowles	Arthur F. Burns
Jacob Potofsky	Henry R. Luce[1]
Henry Kissinger	Oveta Culp Hobby
Anna Rosenberg	David Sarnoff

And when Kennedy became President, from what foundation did he get his Secretary of State? The Rockefeller Foundation, of course.

Establishment studies, except in the fairly open field of politics, are still in their infancy. There is much to be learned about the class structure of the Establishment, about its regional strengths and weaknesses, about the relative influence of various cliques and academies, about the role of family and the customs of intermarriage, and so forth. The difficulties are formidable. Candor compels acknowledgement of the fact that the field has attracted few really objective scholars. Works like "Establishment Watering Places," a first-rate monograph by Hilary Masters, are all too rare. And one encounters obstacles that arise from the very nature of the work. The great foundations, ready to sponsor all manner of intellectual boondoggling, won't part with a dime for this important work. For my own part, though, I intend to push on, subsidy or no subsidy, and publish my findings from time to time.

[1] The outsider inside. I once asked an authority on the parent body, the British Establishment, how he accounted for the sudden eminence of Barbara Ward. He explained that every Establishment agency (the BBC directors, for example) had to have at least one woman and one Roman Catholic. Miss Ward was a neat package deal.

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At Daphni

for Virginia, 24

Arthur Freeman

The islands of mosaic in the apses
are shored in by a backwater of plaster,
and they wear their settings easily, at Daphni,
as the islands in another sea wear foam.

One depicts the sallow Christ clad in a loincloth
wading, and the water passing round him
forms a network of clear lines, as if to bind him
in a multitude of toils to the dome.

While above this is an angrier Christ's visage
set frowning in a mask of severe judgment,
and his brows are thunderclouds that gather darkness,
and his eyes, which will not weep, as hard as ice.

If a miracle of pity were to strike him,
and the stones wept for the bound god by the window,
would this stern Christ cast a kind eye on his kinsman,
and a mighty tide of love flood paradise?

Ah but Daphni, here is Daphni, where the pagans
dwelt in ignorance of pity and of sternness—
who would irrigate so obdurate a wasteland
with the waters of redemption, if he might?

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The cicadas in the fir-grove drone a hum-drum
unremitting kind of chorus to the climate,
and the pre-Socratic sun suggests its questions,
and the sky remains as empty and as bright

and unanswering as ever, since it opened,
mute and blue, on the earliest of mornings;
while in Daphni there is only sun and stoneware
and a wilderness as barren as the past.

Let the sterner pantocrater shadow lightning;
let the milder Christs wear mercy in their alcoves;
still the springs choke, and the images still moulder,
and at Daphni is indifference at the last.

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The President And Other Intellectuals

ALFRED KAZIN

SOME YEARS AGO, when Sherman Adams was still grand vizier of the Eisenhower Administration, a famous American poet and long-time friend of Adams', while sitting in his office in the White House, expressed a desire to meet the President. Adams went in and came out again and tactfully explained that the President was not curious to meet the famous poet.

That same poet, however, was prominently displayed at the inauguration of John F. Kennedy. And although many of us who admire Robert Frost's poetry and enjoy Robert Frost's conversation and have not shared his political views may well be surprised to hear that he has *returned* to the Democratic fold, Frost's enthusiasm says a good deal about Kennedy's charm for some of the most interesting minds in the United States. During the campaign and afterwards, Kennedy certainly never hid his allegiance to the fundamental principles of the New Deal—which Robert Frost has always detested. Yet no sooner did the New Frontier get itself named (somewhat mechanically) than Robert Frost heralded "an Augustan age of poetry and power, with the emphasis on power."

For Robert Frost even to think of himself as Virgil to Kennedy's Augustus in this new age of American power shows how deeply Kennedy not only affected some writers but encouraged them to feel a new confidence about America's role in the world. During the campaign, the very literary and "socialist" columnist of the

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New York Post, Murray Kempton, confessed that although he was pledged to vote for Norman Thomas, his heart belonged to Kennedy, while Walter Lippmann must have carried many votes for Kennedy by certifying his faith in Kennedy as a thinking politician who promised to be a statesman.

It was particularly on the more intellectual and liberal correspondents with him that Kennedy seemed to make the greatest immediate impression. At Los Angeles, watching his first press conference before the nomination, Norman Mailer thought that Kennedy did not seem too popular with the general run of reporters; he was "too much a contemporary, and yet difficult to understand." But Richard Rovere in the *New Yorker* not merely testified with increasing warmth and affection to Kennedy's abilities, but that July was able to say "with a fair amount of certainty that the essence of his political attractiveness is his extraordinary political intelligence. . . . The easy way in which he disposes of the question of Church and State . . . suggests that the organization of society is the one thing that really engages his interest." In his recent book on the campaign, *The Making of the President, 1960,* Theodore H. White describes on tour Kennedy as one "who enjoys words and reading, is a Pulitzer Prize winner himself and a one-time reporter; he has an enormous respect for those who work with words and those who write clean prose. He likes newspapermen and their company. Kennedy would, even in the course of the campaign, read the press dispatches, and if he particularly liked a passage, would tell the reporter or columnist that he had—and then quote from its phrases, in an amazing effort of memory and attention."

Norman Mailer at Los Angeles, preparing the article that *Esquire* was to insist on calling "Superman Comes To The Supermart," was staggered on interviewing Kennedy when the candidate said he had read "*The Deer Park* . . . and the others." The conventional remark on meeting Mailer is, of course, that one has read "*The Naked and the Dead* . . . and the others." But Kennedy, happily, was not conventional. The man who was very possibly the next President of the United States had read the scandalous hip novel about Hollywood doings in Palm Springs that had enraged

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and disgusted so many publishers and critics. Mailer's brilliant if overwritten article expressed the same hope for Kennedy that in their different ways Lippmann and Rovere and Kempton and even Robert Frost had openly felt. Given the "vacancy" in American life, as Lippmann had put it during the last days of the Eisenhower Administration, the increasing divorce between private thought and the public realm, could it be that here at last was one of the "creative innovators" in politics, one man with brains and vision enough to pull our people to world reality, away from business as usual? Could it be, dared one hope, that with this rich, handsome, literate and courageous young man the sickening cycle of underground life and public inanity had at last been cut? *Esquire,* more hip than Mailer himself, advertised his article as "The Outlaw's Mind Appraises The Heroes' Dilemmas." But what Mailer said, with moving hope as well as concern, was that perhaps, with Kennedy, there might at last be some positive awareness of the ever-growing disrespect of intellectuals for politics. Too long, as he said, had politics quarantined us from history, and too long had we left politics to those who "are in the game not to make history but to be diverted from the history which is being made." Although the convention at Los Angeles was actually dull, full of seedy machine politicians, "The man it nominated was unlike any politician who had ever run for President in the history of the land, and if elected he would come to power in a year when America was in danger of drifting into a profound decline."

Mailer was stirred enough to romanticize Kennedy with faintly derisory analogies to Marlon Brando. Yet whatever Mailer's personal symbol of an American hero, what he said was no more than what so many intellectuals felt. "It was a hero America needed, a hero central to his time, a man whose personality might suggest contradictions and miseries which could reach into the alienated circuits of the underground, because only a hero can capture the secret imagination of a people, and so be good for the vitality of his nation. . . ." And just recently there has come to hand the most moving expression of the wretchedness and the positive sense of unreality that political alienation can suggest to a sensitive mind.

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It is the brilliant excerpt, recently published in *Esquire,* from Saul Bellow's new novel, *Herzog.* The hero is a university teacher and writer, racked by the collapse of his marriage and by his spiritual loneliness, who wildly scribbles in his notebook letters to public leaders as well as to private individuals. At the end of this excerpt, he suddenly writes a letter to President Eisenhower, and this defines not only the ground of his private unhappiness but his feeling that it has a public source: ". . . it seems a long time since chief executives and private citizens had any contact. The president is briefed by experts or informed by committees on the problems of the nation. That is too bad. Sometimes obscure citizens are wildly intelligent, without the disabilities of special training. But we have to recognize that intelligent people without influence have a certain contempt for themselves. This partly reflects the contempt the powerful have for them, but mainly it comes from the contrast between strength of mind or imagination and social weakness or political impotence. . . . It seems to them that society lets them think everything, do nothing. The private resentment and nihilism that result are due to a private sense of failure which possibly comes from the intellectual's faulty definition of himself and his prospects. What should his thought do? What power ought he to have from it?"

The Russians speak of many disaffected and silent people in their country as "internal *emigrés*"; increasingly it has become natural for many American writers and scholars and intellectuals to think of themselves as "internal *emigrés.*" In the very thirties that now seem to some young people an unrecapturable time of *engagement* and public responsibility, Nathanael West said that we have no outer life, only an inner one, "and that by necessity." By the 1960 Presidential campaign, it was perfectly possible for writers like Robert Frost and Norman Mailer (who, whatever the outer life, are not so hilariously divergent as they seem) to herald, with varying tones of enthusiasm and private distrust, what Frost called "a new Augustan age" and Mailer an end to the "alienated circuits of the underground." I grant that writers welcome an audience in high places, that "the new Augustan age" is pure rhetoric—much

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more so (whatever the phrase) than Mailer's felt and even obsessive feeling that now there are "alienated circuits of the underground." But if the writer is good, even his egotistical affections are intelligent. And of course one reason for this pro-Kennedy feeling was the contrast he made with the General and the General's Westerns and the General's sentences—to say nothing of the General's party, which a year after the campaign announced a major new campaign to enlist "the specialized knowledge and experience of the nation's intellectuals," which has now drawn plans in every state "to facilitate the utilization of friendly academicians in party affairs at all levels."

Truman, even more than Eisenhower, showed himself to be positively intemperate in denouncing "advanced" American pictures that had been selected by museum officials for exhibition abroad, while FDR, whatever his spontaneous shrewdness in answering to immediate situations, had the landed gentleman's repugnance to excessive intellectual labor. No wonder that so many writers and scholars have felt that they can at least *talk* to Kennedy. He reads, he reads endlessly, his reading is constantly an amazement in a country where the strongest minds often on principle declare a positive contempt for the reading of serious books. Addressing a newspaper publishers' convention, the President of the United States recalled that Karl Marx had been correspondent for the *New York Tribune.* Before leaving for his talks with De Gaulle and Khrushchev, the President at his birthday dinner in Boston quoted William Lloyd Garrison's famous thunder-cry from the opening number of the *Liberator.* When he was welcomed to Paris by De Gaulle, the President graciously replied by invoking Jefferson's love for France and Franklin's popularity in the salons. When Hemingway died, the President quickly issued a tribute in which he made reference to Paris in the 1920's, the lost generation and the fact that Hemingway had helped to end the old provincialism of American letters. The President, as James Reston has said, takes printer's ink for breakfast, and by now his bookishness and intellectual sophistication are so well known that one is no longer surprised to hear that C. P. Snow has been invited to the White House

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and that E. E. Cummings has been in to tea, or that at a certain juncture Kennedy alone, of all his intellectual entourage, knew the title of Churchill's first book. It did not seem at all pretentious to me that the First Lady, interviewed on her plans for redecorating the White House, should have spoken of her interest in antique furniture as natural to the wife of a "historian." Not only has "history" been the President's strongest intellectual interest, but so far as he has been trained to any profession, it has been to the study and the writing of "history." The son of the American Ambassador to Great Britain in 1940 had positive reasons to remember that during the Civil War the son of the American Ambassador to Great Britain was Henry Adams, and there learned a great deal that was to be important to the life of politics and the writing of history. President Kennedy, who before the war thought of becoming a newspaperman, reminds me, in the range of his sophistication, of a great many "intellectual" newsmen and editors. The author of *Why England Slept* and *Profiles in Courage,* the President, whose favorite book has been given out as Lord David Cecil's *Melbourne* and favorite novel as Stendhal's *The Red and the Black,* is in his personal interests alone far more of a "historian" than many who teach history rather than learn it.

Now it is also true that President Kennedy's anecdotes from American history tend to be trotted out rather irrelevantly to formal occasions, and that the punch line quoted in Paris from Samuel Adams is unaccountably accredited in Vienna to someone else. And if he cited a little-known detail from Karl Marx's biography to an audience of publishers, it was to joke that Marx had vainly asked the *New York Tribune* for a raise—look, said the President, what you fellows may get us all into by not giving a correspondent a raise! William Lloyd Garrison's "I will not equivocate and I will be heard!" is in excess of what a birthday dinner among Massachusetts politicians, even on the eve of his going to Europe to meet Khrushchev, seems to call for. And *Profiles in Courage,* perhaps because it was indubitably *written* by the author himself (as he replied to reviewers who doubted it), is certainly far more interesting for its personal emphasis on "courage," courage by

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anybody in the United States, whether Taft or Norris, than for any significant political ideas of his own. *Profiles in Courage* always reminds me of those little anecdotes from the lives of great men that are found in the *Reader's Digest,* Sunday supplements, and the journal of the American Legion. It is the kind of book that reads like a series of excerpts even when you read it through; and indeed it seems composed of excerpts—excerpts of reading, excerpts of anecdote. Nor, quite apart from his conventional public statements, am I impressed with the tales of a voracious reading that seems to be concerned largely with getting the "facts," the highly separable material and statistical facts that can be shovelled into the executive mind. And with everything that has been said about Kennedy's being a Catholic, almost nothing, so far as I can tell, has emerged about the personal and intellectual side of his Catholicism. Unlike Senator Eugene McCarthy and other American politicians whose thoughtfulness and sense of philosophical principles owe so much to the traditional teachings of their church, John F. Kennedy seems to have been more aware of Catholics as a source of political support than of the Church as a source of intellectual inspiration. And although Kennedy's narrow victory, which owes so much to Catholics, has caused many Catholic writers and intellectuals to rally almost defensively around him, some of them, before Kennedy was nominated, were positively bitter about his political exploitation of Catholic support.

Yet with all these limitations and conventionalities and sales tricks, it is interesting to see how much of an "intellectual" Kennedy wants to be and how eagerly his bookishness, his flair and sophistication, his very relish for the company of intellectual specialists, have been advertised to the public without any fear that it might dismay a people so notoriously suspicious of these qualities in others. Obviously in Kennedy's case an "intellectual" taste does not suggest a fastidious withdrawal from anything—not even from normal passion. Adlai Stevenson in his two campaigns seemed to be running not only against the bluff, smiling General, but against the General's philistine supporters. It is interesting to learn from the autobiography of T. S. Matthews that when Matthews warned

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Stevenson against "Ohio" (meaning the Yahoos), Stevenson's advisers just stared at him, while Stevenson smiled and went back to work. The extraordinary identification that so many American intellectuals make with Stevenson has often struck me as loyalty not to a lost cause but to lostness as a cause. I have never been sure just how much of an "intellectual" Adlai Stevenson is at all, but he has certainly been cherished among intellectuals more for his obvious sensitivity than for the strength of his ideas. In 1956 even more than in 1952, and at Los Angeles in 1960 even more than in 1956, he seemed the peerless leader of intellectuals who boasted that they had never had a candidate before—and who warned that if he were counted out for positively the last time, they could never be that much concerned again. They would have suffered just too much. And since Stevenson's public style seemed to combine self-demeaning wit and vulnerability to such a degree that some of his closest friends condoled with him on having to face the public at all, perhaps it is no wonder that the candidate who publicly yearned that the cup might pass from him was defeated by the General who listens with particular respect to the head of any large American corporation.

By contrast, of course, Kennedy has not only surrounded himself with many of the liberal historians, economists and political scientists who were reputedly such a liability to Stevenson, but despite certain necessary political favors to be paid back, he has made a point of appointing as Ambassador to Japan a professor of Japanese history, as Ambassador to India a John Kenneth Galbraith, as Secretary of the National Security Council the former dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, as one of his immediate advisers the author of a scholarly study of Presidential power, as another adviser a young man in his twenties who was first in his law class at Harvard. Although the Secretary of State obviously was chosen to be one of a team, it is interesting that his last previous job should have been as president of the Rockefeller Foundation; although the Secretary of Defense was president of the Ford Motor Company, he came to Ford and rose at Ford because he was a brilliant statistician; although the Secretary of the Interior

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necessarily comes from the West, the present one really is crazy about Robert Frost. Even the Postmaster General in this Administration has written a novel; even the new Military Adviser to the President has written a superb book on American defenses. No wonder that Arthur Miller and John Steinbeck and W. H. Auden were asked to the inauguration as publicly declared assets of the Republic; that even the Kennedys' French chef is felt to be a compliment to their good taste rather than to their wealth—to say nothing of the *fête champêtre* thrown for the Pakistan President at Mount Vernon, which (it is safe to guess) irritated some Congressmen not because of its reputed cost, but because, with its announced links to classic entertainments in the past, it represented a bit of intellectual swagger that not all Americans are likely to admire.

In short, the President has gladly let it be known that he is in fact a highbrow, an intellectual, an omnivorous reader. There was once a Tammany mayor of New York who in private, talking with a favorite magazine reporter, confided that he indeed knew and enjoyed Joyce's *Ulysses*. But this was a secret, not a boast. President Kennedy's acquaintance with some minor details in the life of Karl Marx is rather more a boast than a secret, like his open espousal of Robert Frost, his invocation of William Lloyd Garrison in Boston and of Jefferson in Paris; all these and more are attempts to form his public style. As has often been said, Kennedy is the most "intellectual" President since Woodrow Wilson—some even say since Theodore Roosevelt. Hoover may have been a brilliant mining engineer on three continents and with his wife he did translate a medieval Latin treatise on mining; but in public he gave the appearance of suffering fools miserably and stimulated no one. Wilson had been a political scientist and had written books; but he, too, tended rather to patronize and to moralize, and at Versailles in 1918 was hopelessly outclassed in wit and learning, to say nothing of his not knowing a single blessed word of French. (President Kennedy's French is primitive, but even on a state visit to Canada he was able to make a virtue of his limitation by likening it to Prime Minister Diefenbaker's.) Like Theodore Roosevelt (also trained to no profession but that of "historian"), Kennedy has cultivated as

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his public style the bookman-in-office. Although Kennedy has not yet publicly found jobs for poets (as T. R. did for Edwin Arlington Robinson), he, like Roosevelt, has praised the strenuous life as if he were promoting a historical revival and, like T. R. again, he lets his literary opinions be known. He has helped to establish taste. And it is just this cultivation of the highbrow world as an executive taste and Presidential style, his turning the poor old suffering American egghead into something better than a martyr to popular culture, that I find most suggestive about Kennedy-as-intellectual. If during the campaign he grew on many thoughtful observers who distrusted his family background and despised his failure to say a single word about McCarthy, so in his first weeks, at least, he was able to persuade many cool observers that his was the necessary style of administration in these times—like Churchill, like De Gaulle. Before Cuba, one English joke was that Kennedy talked like Churchill but acted like Chamberlain; even after Cuba, it was said that there had been an *unaccountable* lapse of his dominant executive style. But Cuba apart for the moment, it is obvious that Kennedy's reputation as an "intellectual" has been an asset to him at a time when government operates on a scale of such complexity, requires so deft an ability at least to show a nodding acquaintance with many subjects. It has often been said that Kennedy turned the tide in his first television debate with Nixon by the precise answers he was able to supply to questions raised from so many different fields. Before his nomination, says Theodore H. White in *The Making of the President, 1960,* Kennedy astonished his own staff by analyzing without notes his chances in every single state of the union, and, in the "honeymoon" weeks of the Administration, Vice President Johnson let it be known that he was positively awestruck by the President's ready handling of so many different subjects.

This smooth and easy assimilation of fact, this air of over-all sophistication, is what Americans have learned more and more to admire in journalism, in business, in conversation and on television quiz shows—whether the man in the dock is Charles Van Doren or the President of the United States being questioned mercilessly (and pointlessly) about everything from Laos to Tammany. The

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quiz show did not die out with the exposure that the contestants had been briefed; the candidates in the 1960 campaign were also briefed, as is the President of the United States today, and the show goes on. If the reporters sometimes act as if they wanted to trip the President up, the President knows that he can impress the country by way of the reporters. This over-all style, so much like the division of even the arts and sciences into departments of *Time* magazine, became a "research" style among the military during the war, and it has now invaded the big universities and "scientific research and development." It is our national style, *intellect-wise*. We now admire it—when it comes unaccompanied by personal stress. A recent article in a liberal weekly on "The Mind of John F. Kennedy" turns out to be an entirely admiring study of Kennedy's range as an administrator. This vocational or psychological use of the word "mind" is so typical of our time and place that it probably never occurred to the author even to extend the word to cover "beliefs." Instead we are told that Kennedy's "marshalling of related considerations" defines Kennedy's mind "as political in the most all-encompassing sense. The whole of politics, in other words, is to such a mind a seamless fabric, in which a handshaking session with a delegation of women is an exercise directly related to hearing a report from a task force on Laos." And this ability to assimilate on the jump necessary quantities of fact, to get statements of a problem that carry "action consequences"—this is what we have come to value as the quality of intellectual all-roundedness or savvy. It is a style that depends always on research done by other people, on a swift and agile reaction to the statement of the problem *set* by other people, on the professional politician's total recall for names and faces, the professional communicator's ability to wham the effective phrase right down the mass media to the great audience. The more complex and insoluble the problems become, the more intellectuals are needed to pile up research on them; the incoming trays are piled higher, ever higher, with "freedom riders," Latin American poverty, education bills, recalcitrant Congressmen, the Congo, obstinate Englishmen and offended Nigerian diplomats who were refused a cup of tea in a Maryland restaurant. The professors

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who coasted along on two courses and one committee now work from eight-to-eight before they go out to the big dinner every night: "I don't have time to put my shoes on in the morning." Since the boss is the man who takes his problems home with him, the boss proves that he is the boss by a certain air of tense vigilance and unsleeping physical resiliency and readiness. Never in any Administration have we been told so constantly how little sleep the President gets.

The boss nowadays does not have to be an expert himself; in the normal course of nature he cannot be one and boss too. But he has to know who the experts are. So much is this executive style, with its dependency on batteries of advisers, experts, "researchers," the admired "intellectual" style because it works with intellectuals, that the President of this nation of boastful pragmatists, in a public tribute to Robert Frost, told the story of the mother who wrote to the principal of a school, "Don't teach my boy poetry; he's going to run for Congress"—and affirmed: "I've never taken the view that the world of politics and the world of poetry are so far apart." No wonder that some who suffered with Stevenson in 1956 for being too good for the American public felt with Kennedy in 1960 that intellect was at last in touch with power. He had read the essential books; and the essential names, the principal formulae, the intellectual shorthand were at his disposal. No wonder that conversing with certain Kennedy advisers in March one felt about them the glow of those who have not merely conceived a great work but are in a position to finish it. The boss *understood;* he was just as savvy as anyone else, but less "sensitive" (meaning destructible). It took half the time to explain highly technical problems to Kennedy that it had to Stevenson, and it turned out, too, that Stevenson actually wasn't much of a reader. During the Eisenhower Administration, I heard a famous scientist say with some satisfaction that the President was "actually very intelligent." And Robert Frost, when he finally did get to an Eisenhower stag dinner at the White House, made a point of saying afterwards that President Eisenhower was extremely intelligent. I understood. When a really good mind, suffering from the natural loneliness of really good minds,

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gets the ear of a man smart enough to make his way to the very top, even to make the topmost pinnacle an attribute of himself, there is a natural sense of satisfaction. For when all is said and done, action *is* the natural sphere of a mind sane and hopeful, eager to revive the classic center of man's public activity. To real intellectuals, power means not Caesarism but right influence; and it must be said that the type of Henry Adams, who wants to be near power so that he can deride it but feels that he is too intelligent to influence it, is really the prisoner of his own despairing rationality. Adams did not want his private obsessions interrupted by any new dimension of experience. And while the *quality* of mind is not necessarily better among those who are more "healthy-minded," it is a fact that the capacity of certain intellectuals to wield influence, the belief that they not only can but that they should, is interpreted maliciously by those who are so alienated from the body politic (to say nothing of politics) that they must explain everything as self-seeking.

I would suggest that what drew certain historians, political scientists, economists and lawyers to Kennedy was the fact that he, too, was outside the business community, had grown up independent of the main influence, and that Kennedy's very adroitness and eagerness of mind, his sense that there were deeper sources which he could employ, pleased them as the style of a politician no more limited by the business ethos than they are. In many ways the current intellectual style brings together people who have nothing in common but their indifference to the conventional values. It is the style of labor lawyers from immigrant families; of university administrators with a family tradition of diplomacy and liberal Republicanism in the tradition of Stimson, not the shabby rhetoric of "free enterprise" set up by professional demagogues; of professors themselves brought up in professors' families; of economists who remember with bitterness what young men with brains had to fight in the way of prejudice and snobbery when they first made their way up the university ladder. Such figures, whether their background was too patrician or too scholarly or too radical or too foreign for the majority view, represent the accelerating war of the "specialists" (or the "engineers," as Veblen called them) with the

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"price system." They have grown up on ideas, they have made their way up on ideas, they live on ideas. And in some way that must be both exciting to them and yet frustrating, Kennedy is also not limited to business and by business. He shares with his advisers a certain intellectual freedom from the dominant prejudices and shibboleths. But what for them is often a positive article of belief may, for him, be only freedom from vulgar prejudice—and it is exactly here that Kennedy's use of his advisers has already proved so much more significant than their influence on him.

About Kennedy one *has* to make psychological guesses, for unlike his advisers, one does not know what he thinks by reading him—nor even by talking to him. His most essential quality, I would think, is that of the man who is always making and remaking himself. He is the final product of a fanatical job of self-remodeling. He grew up rich and favored enough not to make obvious mistakes or to fall for the obvious—he has been saved from the provincial and self-pitying judgments that so many talented Americans break their teeth on. He has been saved, not merely from the conventional, but from wasting his time on it. Even now there is an absence in him of the petty conceit of the second-rate, and a freshness of curiosity behind which one feels not merely his quickness to utilize all his advantages, but also his ability to turn this curiosity on himself. He turns things over very quickly in his own mind; he gets the angle. Yet all the while he stands outside, like a sculptor surveying his work. He is what a certain time has made, has raised highest, and he can see himself in perspective in a way that perhaps only Americans can—since only they have *made* so much of themselves. The father made a killing in liquor and even as Ambassador managed to sound like a district boss; the son has as many European "connections" as royalty. The father worked it so that each of his children would have at least a million dollars; the son, starting out high above the economic motive, asked advice of fatherly gentlemen in New England as if he had all the world to choose from. The grandfathers in Boston still had to look at *No Irish Need Apply;* their grandson, as the Attorney General of the United States said with grim pride when he urged Negroes to fight more for their *political* rights, is now President of the United States.

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He is President of the United States, he is a millionaire, he has the sex appeal of a movie hero, the naturalness of a newspaperman and as much savvy as a Harvard professor—and whereas you and I would be scared even to imagine ourselves taking on such responsibilities as face him every moment of the day and night, the highest office is what he wanted, this is what he went straight for, this is what he has. He has learned so continuously, so brilliantly, even so greedily, that one observer, noting that the author of *Profiles in Courage* didn't show his profile on the McCarthy issue, dryly wonders "if the book didn't, on some very private level, instruct him in what to avoid." The determination to succeed, the guardedness against vulnerability of any sort, the constant vigilance not to show himself wanting (his health has been the only admitted "weakness")—this edge is so sharp that another writer has brilliantly compared Kennedy to the type of Whig who in the eighteenth century entered the rising House of Commons: "of large and comparatively recent fortune, intelligent, elegant, tremendously determined to make a place for himself, desiring above all to be effective and to succeed, contemptuous of the aristocratic condescensions and concerned not to be condescended to."

But unlike those Whigs, it is to be doubted that Kennedy represents a definite social interest. What has given him his influence, even over the "brain power," as he describes this resource passingly in *The Strategy of Peace,* is his sophisticated freedom from conventional prejudice. When one adviser, submitting a memorandum on Latin American problems, noted that certain recommendations could be highly irritating to American business, Kennedy waved the hypothetical objection aside. This elasticity makes him exciting to work for, and to pass from so detached a mind to the endless analysis of itself that Washington goes in for might well make an intellectual in Washington feel that "brain power" is at the center of things again, that the few have again the chance to do well by the many.

Yet as this is being written, nothing stands out so clearly about the Kennedy Administration as its frustrations. The occasion is

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piled higher with difficulty than ever before, and "the most intellectual and idea-seeking President since Woodrow Wilson" must find it as hard to remember some of the ideas he came in with as it is to promote some he has acquired since. Only in the White House, it may be, will Kennedy know the "contradictions and miseries" that other men have always lived with. And perhaps it is only in the White House, too, that the intellectual advisers who have gone smoothly from academic success to academic success may for the first time experience rebuff, defeat, obloquy. The "decisions" get more and more "educated," to use the President's interesting word, but they do not grow more decisive. And when I think of the increasing ugliness of American "conservatives," the political stalemate that Kennedy is faced with by Russia, the impossible difficulty of getting Americans to limit their smallest economic privileges enough to create a new social sense in this country, the conflicting views of so many different groups of advisers who were meant to counteract each other but who can produce administrative chaos, I anticipate that so restless and so ambitious a man as Kennedy will want to cut through the ever deepening morass.

The most striking side of the Cuban disaster, to me, was the virtually official apologia that since Kennedy inherited the invasion scheme from Eisenhower and found that the CIA had been arming and training an invasion army that could no longer be "contained," the technical approval by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the approval of a majority of his advisers were enough to make him approve not merely an immoral but an impractical scheme to invade Cuba. Even a literary man reading up on Castro and his revolution could guess that Castro was much too popular to be overthrown from a small landing at the Bay of Pigs. Yet faced by so many conflicting and in a sense mutually cancelling bodies of advice, Kennedy allowed the gun to go off. And nothing has been said by him since, or by his advisers, that indicates it was anything but the *failure* of the Cuban invasion that they regret. It has given a "bad mark" to the Administration that wants so much to succeed. What is immoral and downright stupid about the invasion, what represents not merely faithlessness to our traditions but an executive tempera-

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ment restless, tricky, irritable—this has not been understood by the Administration and its advisers. And seeking out Hoover and MacArthur at the Waldorf in an effort to make a show of national unity at the first sign of national dismay! The only defense that I have heard against the frightening impatience displayed in the Cuban adventure has been that so-and-so wasn't in on the decision, and that intellectuals on the outside never recognize how many important decisions are improvised and uncalculated. Where, then, is the meaningful relation of intellectuals to power? Is it only to write memoranda, to "educate" the decisions that others make? History will not absolve them that cheaply. What troubled me about the Cuban adventure was that although its failure was attributed to "erroneous" advice, the essential philosophy behind it was perhaps uttered by the adviser who, when asked for a show of hands, said "Let 'er rip," and by another who said pompously that it was time to come to a power confrontation with communism in this hemisphere. (Stewart Alsop reporting). In short, actions may be excused as "improvised," but is the essential philosophy a longing to come to a power "confrontation" in this hemisphere? Is it possible that the very freedom from conventionality that I interpret as the essential mark of Kennedy's intellectuals and of his receptivity to them—that this may yet create an abstract and virtually ideological conception of American power?

The famous State Department "white paper" on Castro, published before the invasion attempt, listed many distinguished Cuban liberals, democrats, intellectuals, who had fled from Castro after being part of the 26 July revolutionary movement against Batista. Various pro-Castro "progressives" in this country noted that the White Paper quite conveniently omitted mention of any of the privileges lost by American business in Cuba. But although it is not for me to prove this, I suspect that in the mind of the author of the White Paper was not so much the desire to overlook the resentment of American business against Castro as the intellectual bitterness of an American liberal democrat against a political adventurer (Castro), who began as a "reformer" and has since shown himself a cynical and dangerous ally of totalitarianism. Per-

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haps business just did not come into it for the principal author of the White Paper. Hard as it is for pro-Castro intellectuals in this country to take this, I believe that economic determinism seems to explain as little of our bellicosity as it does Russian bellicosity. Anyone who has studied Castro's political development can see that his gravitation toward totalitarianism has had nothing whatever to do with American economic policies in Cuba. Khrushchev's stated belief to Walter Lippmann that Kennedy takes orders from "Rockefeller" is as mechanical a piece of Communist rhetoric as Stalin's stated belief that Hitler's policies were dictated by German capitalists. Indeed, the Russian Revolution itself, launched entirely by intellectuals whose historic dissociation from the great mass of the Russian people explains the very structure of the Communists as a party of intellectual managers, offers the most devastating proof that, especially in our times of centralization, history is made not for material interest but out of intellectual fanaticism often divorced from the most elementary social interest.

After the invasion attempt against Cuba, Kennedy replied to Khrushchev's professed indignation by cautioning him not to support Castro militarily. He ended his message with this emphatic burst: "I believe, Mr. Chairman, that you should recognize that free people in all parts of the world do not accept the claim of historical inevitability for the Communist revolution. What your government believes is its own business; what it does in the world is the world's business. The great revolution in the history of man, past, present and future, is the revolution of those determined to be free." This is stirring language quite different from the usual muddle of Eisenhower's public statements. But I find it hard to believe that for Kennedy the Soviet Government's philosophy is "its own business"; I find it also hard to believe Khrushchev when he says (on alternate Tuesdays) that he himself does not plan to attack the socially backward nations and explains that the well-known law of Marxist development will take care of that. Of course Kennedy is not driven by a fanatical creed of political messianism that is taken as the only universal law of history; nor is he as driven, as Russians have been, by a profound resentment of the creeds and relative

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good fortune of the West. But to the extent that Kennedy has been liberated by his own good fortune from the intellectual torpidity of American business, he may have been thrown back on the intellectual's natural outlet in causes. And the most significant side of Kennedy-as-intellectual seems to lie not in his public cultivation of the "intellectual" style that is now admired in the highest echelons, but in the fact that, as a would-be intellectual who happens to be President of the United States, his natural tendency may be to identify the United States with a crusade, a cause, with "liberty." It was exactly this accessibility to causes that now constitutes, retrospectively, the disagreeable and even false side of Theodore Roosevelt. Similarly, what one fears about Kennedy is the other side of what one admired and was prepared to admire more in him—that he has been left free by his immense power to adopt a cause forged out of his energy and the depths of his restless ambition. Hard as it is for most of us to imagine ourselves arguing the fate of humanity with Khrushchev, it does not seem to bother Kennedy. And when I ask myself, as I increasingly must, what it is in Kennedy's ambition to be an "intellectual" statesman that steels him for his awesome responsibility, what in his *convictions* can carry him over the sea of troubles awaiting all of us, I have to answer that I do not know. At this juncture, Kennedy's shrewd awareness of what intellectuals can do, even his undoubted inner respect for certain writers, scholars and thinkers, is irrelevant to the tragic issues and contributes nothing to their solution. To be an "intellectual" is the latest style in American success, the mark of our manipulatable society.

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An Englishman's Reflections On the Change of Administration

DAVID BUTLER

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES is the President of Britain. However closely the British guard their independence, however scrupulously the President respects it, he still makes decisions that are more important to their fate than any made by the Prime Minister. Therefore, in an awed, resentful, curious, uncomprehending way, the British can feel a proprietary interest in Presidential politics. The transition from President Eisenhower to President Kennedy provided an opportunity for reassessment, as well as an exercise in transatlantic political education. When it comes to discussing such matters from a British point of view, I must admit my disqualifications. I have visited the United States too often, especially during the last year, and, as a professional Americophile of long standing, I have grown used to explaining and extenuating (if not justifying) to my own countrymen the less sympathetic features of mid-century America—from McCarthyism to massive retaliation and from race discrimination to "Big Ten" athletic policy. In what follows, however, I shall do my best to escape from my mid-Atlantic limbo and write from an English point of view.

In London, apologists for the United States found that the advent of President Kennedy greatly eased their task. Those British who are not entirely confused by American parties tend to be pro-Democratic. This is partly because of memories of 1939-41,

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when a Democratic President seemed to be our friend, trying to help us in despite of Republican isolationists. It is partly because the postwar opposition to foreign aid seemed to come from Republicans and because McCarthy was a Republican. It is partly because Democrats seem more sympathetic to the Welfare State arrangements that are so fully accepted by all parties in Britain. It is largely because the most articulate Americans encountered over here, academics, journalists, students and government officials, tend to be Democrats and because British reporting from America tends also to be on that side. So President Kennedy started with a fair wind behind him as far as British public opinion was concerned.

Moreover, by 1961 a change in American leadership was very welcome. The British affection for Ike, dating back to the war, was never dispelled, but respect for him and confidence in his ability waned fairly fast after 1952. The McCarthy episode tarnished the first two years of his Administration: what may have been politic discretion in leaving the Wisconsin Senator to encompass his own downfall was interpreted here as Presidential impotence. The free hand that Eisenhower so evidently accorded to John Foster Dulles, and the Administration's combination of deviousness and moralizing at the time of our follies over Suez encouraged us to see the United States as led by a man who, although honorable and well-meaning, lacked competence and drive. We would have been content for the Eisenhower that we had known in Europe to have his finger on the trigger (or the button), but, as it was, we were worried about how far he was in control of some of the men around him. The overt image-making of Mr. Hagerty began to be the object of wry comment, even across the Atlantic.

Nor did Vice President Nixon, a heartbeat away from the Presidency, reassure the British. The Checkers speech of 1952 was remembered as a classic example of American huckstering, and the competence and discretion that the Vice President showed in the years that followed were little appreciated—at least until his moderately successful visit to England in 1959. Mr. Nixon was, quite wrongly, taken to symbolize the harsh, strident combination of

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business values and holy-war anticommunism that to many Englishmen have been among the most unattractive features of postwar America. We might think Ike tired and incompetent, but we trusted him far more than we trusted Mr. Nixon or the Pentagon or the big interests behind the Republican party. Anyone who argued that Mr. Nixon might be a much better President than Eisenhower found little sympathy in Britain—at least in academic and journalistic circles.

But disillusion with Eisenhower and his chosen successor did not mean that the British were quick to appreciate Mr. Kennedy. The Stevenson image died hard. Intellectuals at least had fallen madly for Adlai in 1952 and were slow to be disenchanted. There is no doubt that British hopes were still with him at the 1960 Los Angeles Convention. Unhappy memories of Senator Kennedy's father in 1940 joined with whispered suspicions about a brash Irish Catholic playboy buying his way into the Presidency. Only toward the end of the campaign, when the television debates had been seen in Britain, did an appreciation of Mr. Kennedy's remarkable qualities begin to cross the Atlantic, and it was not until after his inauguration that the picture of youth, courage and, above all, energy took hold over here. Even to the most sophisticated British the American Constitution remains something of a mystery, and the extent to which the Presidency is necessarily the mainspring of government is not easily grasped; but the way in which Mr. Kennedy and his new team of advisers seemed to have galvanized the administrative machine made an enormous impression when it was suddenly revealed to us in a whole spate of articles in March and early April. Perhaps the enthusiasm became too uncritical. The violent shock of the Cuban invasion and the subsequent revelation of the completeness—and the incompetence—of American involvement led to a correspondingly excessive disillusion.

Moving to and fro across the Atlantic in this period, one became sharply aware of the time lag and the distortions in British understanding of American affairs. The serious British dailies may average several hundred words of American political news per

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issue, but such are the whims of correspondents and subeditors that these can easily fail to reflect the main tenor of moods and events: a major fact of Washington life may take months to cross the Atlantic. British digestion of American news is uncertain; those who write on the subject sometimes lean too far backward to counter the prejudices of their readers, to offset the British compound of Victorian patronage and twentieth-century economic jealousy, of cultural *hubris* and political resentment at the shift in world power.

It was only at the end of World War II that the British could see how much more important the Americans were than they in the scheme of things; it was only after Suez that they came fully to accept this. In so far as we recognized that the leadership of the free world rests with the United States, we came to feel that Eisenhower was doing all too little to exercise it. Kennedy represented a new face and a willingness for action—at a time when almost any action seemed better than none. (Only since Cuba has the hoary wisdom of traditionalists been voiced in the argument that to do nothing is better than to do the wrong thing.)

But the change of Administration and the new style that was being demonstrated had a special appeal for 1961 Britain. Our Conservative rulers have now been in office for a longer continuous period than any government in this century. Whatever their virtues, they have begun to seem a little stale and familiar. It seems a long time since new men or new ideas appeared on the British political scene. The way in which President Kennedy called in talent from every walk of American life—especially, perhaps, from the academic world—was most exciting; so were the stories of the new vitality infused throughout the Washington bureaucracy by the example of Mr. Kennedy's omnivorous, driving curiosity. Even making due discount for the enthusiasm of the honeymoon period, the reports received in Britain were most enheartening.

The change of Administration in Washington naturally led to much heart searching on this side of the Atlantic about Britain's place in the world. Did the replacement of General Eisenhower, with his long practical experience of the Anglo-American alliance

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and his old acquaintanceship with Mr. Macmillan, by a much younger man, mean the end of that special camaraderie and partnership that has characterized the last twenty years? Would the elderly Edwardian Prime Minister be able to come to terms with the eager, organization-man President? Might not America now look more to Bonn and Paris and less to London?

In large measure, such anxieties were misconceived. Changes at the top in fact make little difference to the working partnerships at lower levels established over the years between Washington and London officials; but in any case sentiment and personal considerations influence international relations far less than power and national self-interest. Despite the dismantling of her Empire and the stagnation of her economy, Britain remains, through her Commonwealth connections, her currency and her trading patterns, the nearest thing to a world-wide power after the United States and Russia. In large areas our interests coincide with those of America and, where they conflict, negotiation can usually produce working understandings.

There are those in Britain who dream of some transatlantic merger as an alternative to involvement in Europe. But such visionaries are out of touch with United States opinion and fail to see that what Britain does or thinks looms infinitely smaller on the American horizon than what America does or thinks looms on the British horizon. Britain and America remain linked by ties of heritage and language and Britain is likely long to continue to have an influence in Washington rather greater than her wealth and power would by themselves merit. But whoever is President and whatever his personal relations with the Prime Minister—or the British Ambassador—the closeness of the Anglo-American partnership will be proportional to the closeness of national interests and the importance of each country to the other. There is as yet no evidence that the change of Presidents has materially altered Anglo-American relations.

Perhaps the new Administration has gone out of its way to conciliate General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer and there may have been less opportunity for Mr. Macmillan to play the mediat-

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ing role with Moscow that had fallen to him before the 1960 summit. But the close level of consultation between London and Washington has been maintained.

However, the British, like everyone else, recognize the primacy of the United States in the struggle between East and West, and judge a President more by his general handling of world affairs than by any bilateral considerations. President Kennedy, when he took office, was much more circumscribed by events than his predecessor. It was not just that the problems posed by the Congo, Laos, Cuba and the American economy in 1961 were more acute than those posed by Korea in 1953. The general balance of world power was different. In 1953 the United States was the only possessor of the hydrogen bomb and every major economy in the free world depended on American aid. Stalin's Russia posed a formidable threat but its output and its technical skill seemed quite inadequate to challenge American pre-eminence. In the eight years that followed, the absolute military, political and economic supremacy of the United States began to be called into question. Russia's atomic potential suddenly appeared far greater and the successes of British and French bombs showed that many other countries might soon be challenging the great powers' monopoly. Soviet triumphs in rocketry and space exploration startled the world and inflicted a major blow to America's technical self-confidence. Politically, while the territorial advance of communism was small, the creation of a large array of new nations widened the area of the world struggle and weakened America's hand. Economically, it suddenly became apparent that, for all her wealth and productivity, the United States' rate of growth was alarmingly small while the Soviet's was alarmingly big. The dollar was no longer the hardest of hard currencies; events in Bonn and the Common Market countries became increasingly important and Washington ceased to be the only place to which developing countries looked for aid.

Thus it is that President Kennedy and Mr. Rusk took over a situation far more complicated than that which confronted President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles and with a far less omnipotent force at their disposal. But this was not fully recognized by American public opinion. The whole of American history fosters the na-

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tional attitude that nothing is impossible, that all problems have solutions. Compromise, or making do with an unsatisfactory *status quo* have played a much smaller part in the international experience of the United States than in that of every European power. In the last decade, therefore, it has been much harder for Americans to come to terms with the steadily narrowing limits of the possible overseas than it has been on the more familiar ground of national affairs.

It is obviously more difficult for the British to judge Presidents of the United States as national than as international leaders. An aspect of American government that the foreigner finds hardest to appreciate is the President's role as the symbol of national unity. It is too easy to equate the President with the Prime Minister and to forget that he is the sovereign as well. One of the tragedies of President Truman's last years in office was that, perhaps unmeritedly, he forfeited the respect of a large proportion of the American people; therefore he could no longer exercise the full authority of the United States. The reaction to his dismissal of General MacArthur showed the weakness of his position. President Eisenhower did in his own way restore the dignity and authority of the White House —even though he made little use of the power thereby achieved. His persistently high standing, as measured by public opinion polls, was a very real advantage to the country.

Mr. Kennedy has seemed determined to learn from these precedents. Aided by the example of Mr. Hagerty and by his own and his staff's highly sophisticated sense of public relations—and by the immensely photogenic qualities of himself and his wife and children—he has projected himself and his office to heights of popularity unmatched by his predecessor. The way in which he neutralized criticism after Cuba by ostentatiously consulting with Eisenhower, Hoover, Nixon, MacArthur, Goldwater and Rockefeller nauseated many friends of the Administration at home and overseas. Such action would have been unthinkable for President Truman; however, it served perfectly the purpose for which it was intended—the preservation of national unity and Presidential authority.

But if Presidential prestige is hoarded away unused, like the

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accumulating reserve funds of an overcautious corporation, of what avail is it? Is there a danger that President Kennedy, like his predecessor, will never be willing to *use* his authority to sway American opinion toward unpopular but necessary courses? Liberal idealists tend to be too impatient with the facts of political life, the art of the possible. The greatest statesman is the man who has the most far-reaching and shrewd perception of the limits of the possible. Granted the state of the world and the rigidities of Congressional and public opinion, there are many things desirable in themselves that no American President, be he a Lincoln or a Roosevelt, would now attempt to do. There are also things that could be done only at the expense of other desirable goals. Would it be worth wrecking the rest of the Administration's domestic program for the sake of civil rights legislation this year? Is it worth expending Congressional goodwill that may be essential for next year's battle on reciprocal trade agreements in order to get slight improvements in current foreign aid provisions?

Those who rush to criticize President Kennedy for doing too little to educate the American people to the need for deficit spending or to persuade them to bring pressure on their Congressmen in support of aid to education forget both political priorities and political mechanics. The number of Congressmen with votes to sway on vital issues is probably no more than fifty; to turn the heat on all 537 Senators and Representatives for the sake of fifty votes would be wasteful of effort and might well boomerang. Less publicized pressures from the White House, discreetly and sensitively applied, can bring much richer harvests. Pork-barrel legislation, administrative favors and Presidential hospitality can, when adroitly manipulated, do far more than most textbooks suggest to gain Congressional support. One of the main achievements of the Kennedy Administration seems to have been to systematize liaison between the White House and Capitol Hill to an unprecedented degree. A system of graduated deterrents for recalcitrant Congressmen has been notably effective. This does not mean that the Kennedy Administration has had an easy time in its relations with Congress. The executive-legislative tug-of-war, so bewildering to those unac-

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customed to the separation of powers, has continued unabated; the astonishing thing, considering the current composition of Congress, is that President Kennedy has won so much ground.

The new Administration appears more likely to be frustrated by its own uncertainties—and by outside events—than by Congressional obstruction. Which of the slogans was most appealing—new men, new organization or new policies? Change in government is only advantageous if it leads to new policies or to the more efficient administration of existing policies. There is no doubt of the intellectual quality of a large proportion of the new blood in Washington; their administrative capacity is less proved—particular qualms have been expressed on whether the academic virtues coincide with the policy-making virtues. There is no doubt of the need for a lot of administrative reorganization in Washington, and much inefficiency has already been eliminated—although at the cost of a good deal of dislocation, especially of experienced officials. What is more open to question is whether the dismantling of the Eisenhower staff system has not gone too far. The pyramid of committees producing position papers that characterized the last Administration may have been cumbrous and may have eliminated too much from decision making at the very top, but it did mean that people in government knew what was going on and that essential officials were not left without a say in decisions that directly concerned their sphere of activity. If the Cuba proposals had been fully thrashed out in the Cabinet, or even in the National Security Council, some of the snags that later became so manifest would surely have been perceived in advance. America's allies are entitled to feel concern at the confusion of authority in Washington in the making of foreign policy.

On the other hand, the way in which President Kennedy asserted control and, by selective inquiries or suggestions, made his interest felt in every department, often bypassing hierarchical channels, seems fully to merit the praise it received. American government is of necessity complicated and cumbrous but, short of some altogether unthinkable change in the Constitution, there is no escaping the fact that the President must be its driving force. A

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reasonably orderly machine is essential—"inspired chaos" just will not do; but unless the President himself acts busily, showing interest in every department, even the best of machines will creak more and more. No staff system can be a substitute for direct Presidential activity. However much is devolved to wise advisers, the President has to provide the coordination and the inspiration. On this score, Mr. Kennedy has earned a most favorable verdict.

But there is inevitably some disillusion. The Cuban fiasco cast serious doubt on the competence of the President and his advisers. The handling of the Peace Corps has had a Hagerty-like flavor of government by overpublicized gimmick. The reactions to the "freedom riders" provoked some scepticism about the Administration's liberal enthusiasm. Above all, people at home and abroad are beginning to ask what difference has been made by the change of Presidents, what positive achievements the new team can boast. Apart from some significant, although hardly major, achievements in the field of domestic legislation, it is too early to judge the success or failure of much that has been attempted. Perhaps the most notable changes will prove to be those taking place in the dark jungle of the Defense establishment where Mr. McNamara and the exceptionally able group around him are striving manfully to end the departmental feuding, the decisions based on interservice bargaining instead of national need, and the lack of any rigorous economic thinking in respect of the Pentagon's vast expenditures.

The ambivalent feelings toward Kennedy among American intellectuals have found wide echoes in Britain, particularly on the left. Distaste for a tough ambitious politician gave way to admiration for a literate, widely read man, who expressed liberal sentiments with articulate subtlety and who made full use of academic friends and advisers. "Even if he is not one of us, he understands us." All but the most die-hard of Stevensonian idealists began to feel that they could be madly for Jack as well. But his *realpolitik*, his concessions to conservative sentiment in his appointments and in his visitors, his failure to fight at once for radical social goals and, above all, his involvement in Cuba drove many of them back to "Well, at least he's preferable to Nixon."

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The fact is, of course, that no successful President could satisfy the intellectual's longing for logical, uncompromising purity. In the White House, as in baseball, "nice guys finish last." The ruthless, Bobby Kennedy side of the President's nature is potentially one of his greatest assets, although misplaced ruthlessness, as in Cuba, is far worse than woolly do-goodism. Toughness in defining problems and in carrying out decisions without too much regard for people is essential to a successful President. The Kennedy toughness, when tempered in the fire of administrative experience, promises to be one of the great assets of the next four years. But can he and his advisers learn quickly enough? The situation of the West is so critical that little time can be spared for Presidential education. In Britain and elsewhere, non-Americans wait anxiously, although not without hope, to see whether our principal ally has found a leader adequate to the overwhelming challenge of the next few years.

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Falling Body

WILLIAM GIBSON

I was born
Like a stone let go
And began
My day with goodbye

To earth
That held me back
But forth,
My handful of folk

In the hug
Of time, and I kicked
Like a frog
But slow was its tick

Till I rose
In a shatter of flesh
And ties,
The wind all my wish,

I was loose
As a bat let fly,
And my house
Shrank down to a pea

With folk
And their earthly rot
In my wake
And time I forgot,

I was gull,
I was star: I was man
Let fall
And my time was noon

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As I dropped
Plumb in my sprawl
Past the hip
Of earth, and a whirl

At my eye
Of its workpatch lands
Into night
Whisked under my hand

All day
While my halfwit years
Flew by
With souls I most feared

Most loved,
Unfathered, unmothered,
Unwived
In my tumble at dusk

Crying oh
For the years when time
Ticked slow
In my footholds of home

To boys
Who out of me kicked
And rose
Where I fell in a crack

Of doom,
And earth took me back
Dumbed
With its dayless folk.

✪ WILLIAM GIBSON is the author of the plays, *Two for the Seesaw, Dinny and the Witches* and *The Miracle Worker*. He also has written *Winter Crook,* a book of poems; *The Cobweb,* a novel; and *The Seesaw Log,* a theater chronicle. Mr. Gibson is currently at work on a book of which this poem is a part.

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No Kraken Shall Be Found Till Sought by Name

MALCOLM LOWRY

Here is the ship, with decks all holy white,
Pure as the stone that scrubbed them to the bone.
Scuppers cleansed: and red lead shining where it
Would be, the blood all carefully washed from the deck,
The poop a pure arc on the Indian sky,
Cabined and perfect, with flag flying,
And bosun reading the bible, while with t'other hand
He gropes for Ahab's solution. And at the wheel
Another Ahab, whose rhetoric's however not his own.
Ah, who shall say that this is not the noblest of ships
Whose cargo's underwritten by heaven.
The dirt's all neatly hidden under winches,
The stokers are dropped overboard at night,
And sure her virtues do not lack acclaim
As, certain of salvage, she heads straight for the rocks
. . . Never so proud as in her hour of doom.

✪ MALCOLM LOWRY was the author of the novel, *Under the Volcano*, published in 1947, and of *Hear Us O Lord From Heaven Thy Dwelling Place*, a volume of shorter fiction published posthumously in May of this year. A selection of the poems found among his papers after his death in 1957 is now being edited by Mrs. Lowry and Earle Birney of the University of British Columbia. "No Kraken Shall Be Found Till Sought by Name" was chosen from this collection.

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"We Shall Be Tested"

HENRY C. WALLICH

When President Kennedy, in his State of the Union Message said that "we shall have to test anew whether a nation organized such as ours can endure," he was making a statement not only about the hazards ahead. He was making a statement also, implicitly at least, about the way our nation is organized. A nation organized in liberty and for the pursuit of happiness is not necessarily best equipped to conduct a struggle for life against an adversary who knows only discipline and duty to the state. The coming years do indeed promise to test to the utmost the principles upon which our nation is organized.

The historical parallels are too obvious to be labored. Arnold Toynbee has diagnosed the world's present stage as one immediately preceding the appearance of a single world state. The question is whose state. The answer, which fifteen years ago Henry Luce sought to pre-empt with his "American Century," is less obvious now.

The rivalry of Rome and Carthage, perhaps the most famous instance of this phase of Toynbee's pattern of history, offers little encouragement. If there is a parallel, it seemingly casts the United States, freewheeling, pleasure loving, commercial, in the role of Carthage, and the Russians, dour, plodding, organized and purposeful, in that of the Romans. Wiser than to elaborate such Cassandra-style visions is to remember that history often disappoints those who expect a repeat performance. Mature civilizations, to be sure, when they grew soft, have often been invaded and taken over by barbarian outsiders. But I would rather view the present impasse as another round in the long historic struggles between

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the East and the West, of which Thermopylae was not the first and today's cold war may not be the last. The West has met its tests before and can meet them again.

Some moral support will come to us from the realization that it is the West, and not the East, that moves in the mainstream of cultural evolution of the last 3,000 years. For much of this time, mankind's principal concern has been with the worth and freedom of man. Soviet materialism, the predominant concern with physical production by anonymous masses, is alien to this tradition upon which the United States was founded. The United States started out in history as the land of liberty. In subsequent years, the United States evolved a second major theme—the creation of material wealth. It so became the land of freedom and money. In recent years, the image of money has threatened to displace the image of freedom. We have even allowed ourselves at times to believe that freedom was good principally because of the material benefits it bestowed—because it helped to provide an efficient government and because it helped to make more money. Today, Russia is challenging us on the battleground of materialism, of production. It is telling the less developed countries that the Russian system promises quicker development than ours can. If we have nothing to offer on our part but production, the competition may well go against us. We must give a good account of ourselves in that department also, to be sure. But the stress must be upon freedom, our unique value.

In the years to come, our faith in freedom will surely be tested. It will be tested as we realize increasingly that our form of government is not ideally designed to fight a cold war, or any other war. It will be tested as we observe that our free market economy probably is not the most efficient vehicle for rapid growth of the American economy. And if, as I believe, we shall choose freedom even at a cost, we shall be tested on our willingness to discipline ourselves in order to minimize the weaknesses inherent in democratic government and a free market economy.

Eulogies of democracy rarely fail to make reference to the wisdom of the people, which is held to be greater than that of their

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chosen representatives or any other small group of individuals. This proposition is difficult to sustain, even in the abstract, given election results like those of last fall. Is it really to be supposed that 49.7 per cent of the voters were wise and 49.6 per cent unwise? In any case, as a practical matter we do not operate our democracy on this principle. Most of us, when we ballot, vote mainly our personal or group interests. No doubt many feel compelled to clothe the nakedness of self-interest with some rationalization proving that what is good for our particular General Motors is good for the country. But the fact itself is clearly demonstrated by the kind of promises politicians make, and by the sides chosen, with creditable exceptions, by business men, organized workers and members of other groups. An appeal like President Kennedy's "Ask not what your country can do for you . . ." carries emotional appeal precisely because it is so rare in our politics. Our democratic decisions, therefore, have the virtue of providing a compromise reflecting the wishes of the majority. But there is no assurance that this common denominator represents also "what is best for the country."

It has often been pointed out, moreover, that democratic decisions are apt to be best at the local level, and to become less surefooted the farther they venture from home. At the local level, voter knowledge of the issues is usually good. Majority interest and community interest quite likely coincide. Today's principal problems, unfortunately, lie abroad. Most of them demand efforts and sacrifices that have little immediate bearing upon the welfare of the voter. The continuing Congressional difficulties of the foreign aid program bear this out.

One final impediment of democracy: the American form of government has been designed to provide, not maximum effectiveness of action, but minimum danger of abuse of power. The historical and analytical studies that the framers of the Constitution undertook had made them more concerned with the Charybdis of abuse of government than the Scylla of ineffectiveness. Had they been principally concerned with effectiveness, they would scarcely have chosen a form of democracy whose principal innovation was a system of checks and balances. Even a parliamentary system, whatever its defects, is better designed to make decisions. Neither, of

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course, can nor should vie with an authoritarian system in its readiness to take quick action for good or evil.

The achievements of the American form of government are of a kind, nevertheless, that quite refutes H. L. Mencken's remark about democracy being the only amusing form of government ever endured by man. The American system has provided the political stability that has made possible the nation's great economic achievements. It has seen us successfully through two world wars. The United States Constitution is the oldest written constitution of any nation in the world. Past tests have been met with such consistent success that there is good reason to hope that those of the future also will. But we must bear in mind that the tests of the cold war, in an age that has moved from the balance of power to the balance of terror, may be different. They may compel the Administration to take seriously what the President has said about sacrifice, and to invite the people to ". . . ask what you can do for your country." Such attitudes do not come easily to politicians under our form of government. The tests ahead may be those not only of the system and the people, but also and primarily of its leaders.

While two world wars brought no serious interruption of our political practices, they did lead to temporary suspensions of the free market system. Consumption was restricted, more severely in World War II than in World War I. Price, wage and production controls were imposed. The Government underwrote a virtually unlimited demand for output. Under these conditions output advanced very rapidly.

This experience, if nothing else, should make plain that if maximum material growth regardless of human dignity is our goal, a system more like the Russian and less like our own offers the better prospects. The secret of its effectiveness is not primarily its central direction, but its great power to form capital, by holding down consumption. The free economies of Germany and Japan, which are investing at a rate similar to the Russian, are also experiencing comparable growth. The United States has never in peacetime limited its consumption to so small a fraction of output. Undoubtedly we could increase our rate of investment. But to reach

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even German or Japanese rates of investment, let alone the Russian, we would have approximately to double our rate of net investment (excluding replacement), which would take an annual sum larger than present corporate profits after taxes. Short of forced draft measures of the wartime kind, we are not likely to accomplish such a miracle.

Chamber of Commerce orators praising the free market system tend to overlook this, just as do Fourth of July orators extolling democracy. The first often claim that a free economy provides maximum growth, just as the second claim that democracy produces the best political decisions. Both would be right in saying that the free market and democracy give us good growth and good government. Because free institutions are essential to human freedom, ours are clearly preferable to other arrangements. But if we were prepared to sacrifice some freedom, we could undoubtedly grow faster and act more effectively as a nation.

A free system, in other words, is not a fast vehicle, although a good and reliable one. In a world in which it is better to travel than to arrive, it is by far the best. In a world where the premium on early arrival is growing, the cost of freedom is also growing. Our attachment to freedom will be increasingly tested.

For Americans, the temptation to cut back political freedom should be very small compared with similar temptation on the economic side. On the latter front, we are already being tempted by eloquent propaganda on behalf of bigger growth through bigger government. Big government means a small but certain loss of freedom for the taxpayer, the businessman and perhaps even for labor. It carries also the risk of a possibly large loss of freedom for everybody if big government should some day break the restraints of democratic control. As the pressures upon us mount, so will the temptation to meet them in ways that impose limitations on freedom. Ahead of us looms an acid test of our attachment to a free economy. How well we can hope to pass the test and still accomplish our national and international objectives will depend on how we conduct our free economy. It will depend on the attitudes taken by business, labor and the intellectuals who help form national opinion. These crucial attitudes demand a closer look.

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For years, we have indulged ourselves in bad habits that have slowed the economy below its potential growth. One bad habit has been the inflationary spiral of prices and wages. A second is featherbedding of various sorts. A third is the production of farm surpluses. Still others have been the intransigent attitudes of business, labor and special interest groups that have stymied tax reform, the pressure of labor for shorter hours, the pressure of certain industries for protection from foreign competition. Of all these, the inflationary spiral is probably the most serious and certainly the most irresponsible practice. In the earlier postwar years, it was possible to argue that inflation really was not very harmful, that perhaps it was even beneficial. Now that we have begun to price ourselves out of world markets, with a balance of payments deficit and heavy gold losses, the issue is no longer up for debate. We simply cannot afford further inflation leading to large gold losses.

The discipline of the balance of payments is upon us. It has kept many members of the new Administration chafing with impatience. They have wanted to take strong action to reduce unemployment and to stimulate growth. Fear of gold losses has reduced their original program to something not much more ambitious than the Republican might have been.

The inflation of the postwar period has been fed from different roots at different times. During the early years, prices were pulled up by strong demand. At that time, labor needed hefty annual wage hikes just to stay even with rising living costs. Later, the pull of demand abated. But labor and business, having got into the swing of things, continued their ring-around-the-rosy. Wage increases required price increases, and price increases justified further wage increases. With the assist of occasional strong demand in particular sectors, we have been going like this for the better part of a decade. We can keep going only at great peril to the financial structure of the whole world.

Everybody by now knows that wage increases above the national productivity average are inflationary. This productivity gain has been about two per cent on average for many decades. Most people would concede that labor as a whole has very little to gain from the spiral. A four per cent wage increase followed by a two per cent

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price hike is no better than two per cent with stable prices. We are told that union leaders fear to be outstripped by others, that they must bring home as thick a chunk of bacon as the others on penalty of being dispossessed of their jobs by some upstart rival. Is it improperly critical of labor to say that such arguments border on the frivolous, when they are employed to justify activities that imperil a great nation?

Aside from the wage-price spiral and lesser malpractices, we are embroiled in a stultifying dispute, relating to the proper rate of saving and investment, that seriously slows down the economy. This is a dispute not only between business and labor, but one that has deeply split the liberal front itself. The President's economic advisers take the view that more growth demands more investment. This means, by and large, a policy that encourages saving. Such a policy must abstain from tax changes that tend to equalize incomes. It must seek to avoid wage increases so high as to squeeze profits. Broadly speaking, it calls for the kind of policies that are favored by business.

Labor does not share this view. It likes to refer to it as the "trickle down" theory. It prefers more egalitarian tax policies, and wage increases at the expense of profits, both of which better serve its short-run interests. This course, however, reduces the resources available for investment and growth. To justify it, labor has been compelled to devise a theory of growth in which high consumption is the leading force while saving and investment play a subordinate role. The theory of more growth by more consumption has been actively promoted by President Truman's former chief economic adviser Leon Keyserling.

This position has some plausibility as long as the economy operates well below capacity. There then seems to be little need to enlarge capacity. The immediate objective must be to raise demand so as to utilize fully the capacity that exists. The trouble with the theory is that it is very short run, and applicable only to depression. Over the years, the economy has made fairly full use of its productive capacity. There has been a continuing need, interrupted only from time to time, to expand capacity. Had this not been so, the economy would have ceased to grow long ago.

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Labor, through no ill will of its own, is thus put in the uncomfortable position of advocating policies that many economists would consider adverse to growth. Business, without deserving special credit for it, finds that its immediate self-interest coincides with the need of growth. The Administration's economists find themselves impelled to devise policies that in the short run seem to be more favorable to business than to labor. A prominent instance of this is the proposed investment tax credit that gives business a tax deduction as an incentive for more investment.

It is only in the short view, however, that this conflict of interest appears. In the longer run, labor has much more to gain from accelerated growth than from redistribution. The rapid rise in the living standard of the European worker demonstrates this. In Germany, Italy, France and also in Japan, he has accepted a tax system and an income distribution less favorable to him than that of the United States or the United Kingdom. The spectacular results of this self-denial are familiar.

For labor, therefore, one of the challenges ahead is whether it will accept these facts of economic life. This means acquiescence in adequate profits, and acceptance of tax policies that favor saving and investment.

Business, too, does not come off scot free. Business's tax proposals, by and large, happen to be of the sort that favor growth. But business has shown little sense of responsibility in the timing of its proposals. Depending on the business cycle, there are times to cut taxes and to stimulate investment, and there are times when restraint is needed. Business has pushed its demands through times appropriate and inappropriate. Its utterances evoke the experience of the mechanic in a German sewing machine factory during Germany's period of secret rearmament, who assembled a set of components in various different ways but always found them adding up to a machine gun. In a like vein, business has made proposals to cure recessions and to restrain booms, but they have always added up to a tax cut in the upper brackets.

In an economy, in short, that has given us great plenty, we all seem to have taken excessively to heart Samuel Gompers' demand for "more." As a result, we have had less than we might have had.

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Our chances of making the most out of our economy depend on ou willingness to be less insistent and less near-sighted in our demands.

If we fall short, the outcome is predictable. The resources that our adversaries can throw into the cold war are mounting fast. If ours stagnate, we would come under increasing pressure to reach for tools that are not in the workshop of a free economy. We would find ourselves trading freedom for cold war potential. The next few years will show whether we can meet the test of properly running our economy.

Some people feel affronted by the view that a free economy may not be the fastest growing, and that a democratic form of government may not be the most effective to deal with totalitarian aggression. But it is hardly plausible that any one system should be the most effective in all directions. For every gain, something must be surrendered. Nor does there seem anything disgraceful in admitting that our economy was not designed exclusively with an eye to material benefits, nor our form of government with a view to the international power game. Our Western heritage is more truly expressed in concern for freedom and for the dignity of individuals and nations. Our institutions find better justification in serving these than more material or aggressive ends.

The United States, I said at the beginning, has been the land both of freedom and of money. Today we are being successfully challenged in the second department. We no longer possess an exclusively successful system for the creation of wealth. Our best course is to remind ourselves of the original primacy of the first, of freedom. If we can re-establish the United States, in our own mind and that of others, as the land of freedom, we shall have assumed a posture that the other side cannot copy. It gave the United States an overwhelming attraction once. Perhaps it can do it again.

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The Morning Light

LOUIS SIMPSON

In the morning light, a line
stretches forever.
There, my unlived life
rises, and I resist
with dreams of former life.
In dreams, the hosts of darkness,
those stolid warriors, hands clasped
on hilts, resist the morning.
And the sad poets, bending
over the strings, restrain me;
and languid women, in whose eyes
stirs nothing but contempt.
And still
the line increases. The rough sun
is at his labor, tossing up the hills.
He casts up trees and fields.
The sharp blade cuts the reeds.
And my life, pitilessly demanding,
stretches forever in the morning light.

✪ LOUIS SIMPSON, who teaches at the University of California, is the author of three books of poetry, *Dream of Governors, Good News of Death and Other Poems* and *The Arrivistes.* He has recently written a novel—his first—and a critical study of the Scottish writer, James Hogg.

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In a Time of Unmanifest Destiny

HENRY F. MAY

IN THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES OF THE COUNTRY, the atmosphere of the last weeks and months has brought back to middle-aged professors the feelings of 1940. Once more people are asking their friends to sign open letters to the President; once more the mail is full of manifestoes and counter-manifestoes; once more one is continually called on to save the republic by contributing a dollar toward an ad in the *New York Times*. Once more the American academic community is trying to decide what it thinks about a major issue. In this I think it reflects the nation; in very different ways and with different results the whole country is struggling to make up its mind.

Twenty years ago we were trying to make up our minds what to do about Nazi Germany. This time the argument started about Cuba. Yet this contrast is not as significant as it seems. Really, of course, the argument is not about Cuba, but communism. At a deeper level it is, as such arguments have always been, about ourselves. This is as it should be.

Yet to those who have the professional duty, as I do, of reading every year some of the great debates of the past, the current argument is not altogether inspiriting. Compared to the greatest debates of our history—those over the Revolution, the Constitution and slavery—today's arguments lack balance, complexity and realism. Even compared to the more hysterical arguments of later times, the arguments over imperialism in 1898-1900, over the two world wars, even the argument over the early stages of the cold war, there

✪ HENRY F. MAY writes: "This article emerged directly from the vigorous discussion of American foreign policy that broke out on the university campuses immediately after the Cuban invasion." Mr. May is professor of history at the University of California. His latest book is *The End of American Innocence*, published in 1959.

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seems to be a lack of forthrightness. Few are looking at the situation very straight; few, I suspect, are saying all that they mean. Nearly all the arguments presented are partly true, yet each rings a little hollow. Not only do the solutions presented fail to fit the facts; they fail also to channel the emotions.

This is true not only of the campus liberals. Perhaps the simplest and most obviously foolish are the views expressed by spokesmen of the Revived Far Right. The world-wide rot of communism will be stopped if the government gets out of business and balances the budget. We will all, once more, believe in our ideals if we force the schools to force us to. The world will flock to our banners if we stop making any compromises with anybody. In a caricature of even this position, Senator Goldwater eloquently compares our present flabbiness with our "inspired" response to tyranny in Cuba in 1898. When one considers the alarming course of blunders and errors that did take us eventually to San Juan Hill and Manila Bay—and landed us with a new empire we did not want—one can only admire the boldness of the comparison. A little of the Rough Rider spirit, and Russia, China, the H-Bomb, all the hard new problems will no doubt prove to be as easy to deal with as the decrepit Spanish fleet.

Yet there is something understandable and even, in a certain sense, something sound buried in the pronunciamentos of the Birchers and the Smooters and the rest. It is true that people are hungry for positive and simple beliefs. It is true that neither we nor any other culture can survive without faith in ourselves. It may even be that if nobody else raises a standard the people will flock—as so far, fortunately, they have not—to the simple black-and-white flag of the extreme right.

Almost a variant, although a more sophisticated one, of the far right position is the ultramilitant stance assumed since Cuba by the Luce magazines. Ritually deploring the emergence of the John Birch Society, *Life* finds highbrow pacifism even more alarming. People who oppose the use of the H-Bomb are playing the Kremlin game. Not only is communism nonnegotiable in Cuba but everywhere. We should not worry about our approach being "negative"; liberty comes from being "against" its enemies. What we need is "grim determination" and "implacable" battle until "we win the

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cold war." Once we do this, the way will be clear for "a truly golden age."

This, too, is a familiar and emotionally compelling cry in America. In each of our twentieth-century wars we have been told to forget the consequences and go in and win. Beat the Germans, said Wilson, and the world will be safe for democracy. Defeat the Axis, said Vice President Wallace in the most eloquent speech of the Second World War, and we can resume the march of the peoples toward the millenium. Only in the Korean War did we resist, with enormous psychic cost, this sort of advice.

An all-out commitment to victory generates great power. It is tempting to think, with the editors of *Life,* that another such commitment is what we need. But these all-out assaults have never produced anything *but* victory, and victory has always turned sour. World-wide democracy seems as far off as ever; the march on the millenium falters still. Victory, today, must mean the destruction of the power of Russia and China. Would this produce a "truly golden age"? Would it end human tyranny, or even communism? Can we imagine ourselves, or our descendants, enjoying in peace and freedom the results of such a victory? Are we policing the world in this picture, or has the world changed it ways? Editorials in *Life* are as short as they are eloquent; I think we need more detail about the kind of victory we are supposed to buy, before we pay the price that is asked.

The liberals—and since I live among them and share their hopes they are my main concern—are only slightly less unrealistic. There is, in fact, something in common between their views and those of their enemies on the far right. Both are much clearer about what they don't like than about what they do. Each tends to leave some of the facts out of the picture, and each finds it hard to renounce the habit of making Utopias.

The most consistent variety of liberals are the pacifists. Unlike the editors of *Life* I am not horrified by people who are looking for supranational values. The practical case against the use of nuclear weapons is a hard one to argue against, and for many centuries nobody has managed to make foolishness out of pacifist morality. But the road of the real pacifist is a hard one, and very few are qualified

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to take it all the way. It is one of the few positions that are more sensible in the extreme than in the mild form. If one does *not* renounce force in all contingencies, one must say what its legitimate uses *are*—a responsibility some part-way pacifists evade.

Reading from far left rightwards, among nonpacifist liberals one must start with the pro-Marxists. While these are not nearly so many as the feverish rightists think, they are also not so negligible as some liberals insist. Not many people in this country subscribe wholeheartedly to the nineteenth-century system of Marx or the twentieth-century diatribes of Lenin, but there are many who have not managed entirely to free themselves from these well-organized and powerfully stated half-truths. Economists and social scientists know in what ways the Marxist prophecies have not worked and have alternate economic theories of great persuasiveness. Literary intellectuals, however, often fail to inquire about these matters. For at least a generation, many literary intellectuals, as we have often been told with alarm, have been anticapitalist, whether or not they have been prosocialist. Their reasons have been good ones as far as they have gone. While these people know little of socialism, they know and dislike many aspects of American capitalism. Who wants to fight for color television and tailfins? Against these familiar realities, it is not hard to half believe in a little-known peasant revolution that is not really a peasant revolution, or in a vaguely phrased peace proposal that is not really a peace proposal. Pro-Marxism, where it survives effectively in America, is not a matter of theory but emotions, and the emotion is neither about dialectical materialism nor about Russia, but about us.

Another sort of radical, mostly young, had already, before the attemped invasion of Cuba, placed a large emotional investment in the Castro revolution. Young radicals today are nostalgic about the radical past, and these bearded and flamboyant Latin revolutionaries meant to them what the Villistas had meant to John Reed, or the Spanish Loyalists to their fathers. Castro, with his beard and his fatigues and his chickens, vaguely resembled those other bearded nonconformists, the Beats. There were the reports, doubtless true, of increased racial equality in Cuba, of confiscated estates and opened beaches. Such favorites in very different camps as Jean-Paul

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Sartre and C. Wright Mills were deeply impressed. Surely these gay and spontaneous revolutionaries *could not* have anything in common with the crushers of Hungary.

Even before the invasion, however, it had become harder and harder to sustain this separation. The speeches of Che Guevara, excerpted admiringly in the new campus periodical, *Studies on the Left,* announced that the spontaneous rebels were discovering that they had enacted spontaneously the truths of the dialectic.

What was left, after May Day 1961, when Cuba came close to officially joining the Peoples' Democracies, was to say that it was all our fault—that American mistakes had driven Cuba to communism. This may well be partly true. It has been argued very carefully by the Quakers, among others, that reciprocal blunders forced the Cubans to Russian dependence and us to increasing hostility. This analysis may offer guidance for the future. It does not tell us, however, what to do now, or what to do in other cases when our neighbors have once, for whatever reasons, allied themselves with our major opponents.

But by far the majority of liberals, particularly campus liberals, neither approve the triumphs of the Marxists nor deny that the Cuban leaders and the Laos rebels are in fact in the Marxist camp. They advocate, tirelessly, handling the problems of the hostile as well as the neutral and friendly worlds by one or more peaceful and liberal methods. In criticizing them, I do not mean to dismiss any one of these methods. All are valid and necessary. But none is, as each is sometimes made to seem, a panacea. The first is a demand for negotiation. Many were overjoyed at the Kennedy inaugural's frank demand for a new approach: "Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us." The Eisenhower Administration, at Geneva and after, had actually made coexistence our official policy, but no President had given it so hopeful a meaning. To some, however, the Cuban invasion seemed not merely an isolated blunder, but a sign that negotiation was being abandoned. Sure enough, about the same time negotiations seemed to be bogging down in Laos and Geneva. And finally the State Department officially rebuffed a plea for negotiation from Cuba.

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This last action seems to me a foolish one, and I can agree with Senator Morse and others that negotiation with the Castro revolution has never been pressed with enough seriousness. I can agree with Kennedy the candidate that not enough serious attention has been given to disarmament, and with Kennedy the President that a great nation should never fear to negotiate. Yet negotiation is not, any more than militance, a panacea. What happens—the liberals will seldom tell us—when people refuse to negotiate with us? What do we do when, as recently in Geneva and Vienna, they stop negotiating seriously?

Two other liberal methods raise the same sort of problem. These are the positive support of democratic regimes and the resort to collective rather than individual action in furtherance of such objectives as Caribbean self-determination. Both, like negotiation, are sound answers to all but the hardest questions. What do we do in an area where there is no democratic regime and there is not likely to be one, like Southeast Asia or most of Africa? What do we do when other countries reject a collective action we regard as ultimately important? In what cases do we then abjure the rights of sovereignty? Some would say in all. Do they mean it: would they really follow the dictates of the OAS even if all its members were of the Trujillo stripe, or of the United Nations even if a majority of its members were dictator nations?

And finally, the best and most exciting proposal of liberals is that proclaimed so effectively by the present Administration: the positive support of social change abroad, the *alianza para progreso*. This is the generous and breathtaking program that Barbara Ward, for one, calls the most promising program since the Marshall Plan. So it probably is. But those who have looked closely at the matter find an *alianza para progreso* a very tricky business. It is very hard to support social progress in other countries, and still harder to promote political liberty abroad. How much, liberals must ask, have we the right to force "good" programs on other countries, when we clearly must not force bad ones? What kind of results have we obtained so far? Some liberals sound, at times, as if they had an unlimited confidence in the power of—of all things—money.

One more group needs to be briefly discussed—a group associ-

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ated clearly with neither right nor left, but a group essentially conservative, the self-proclaimed "realists." These are of many varieties. They include the students of foreign policy who have long been demanding that we cut our policies according to our capabilities, that we take unwonted account of geography, logistics, resources, military capabilities and such matters instead of straying all day in the flowery fields of ideology. Realists, like other people, vary in sophistication. Some people who talk realism are merely concentrating on a special fragment of reality. The worst of them are merely tough guys in disguise; their precepts might gain Cuba and lose South America, set up a firm frontier in South Asia and make impossible collaboration with Europe.

But not all realists are so unrealistic. According to Eric Goldman, the President is surrounded by a new kind of sophisticated "post-liberal" young man, who adds to humane objectives a fascination with power and "a realism bordering on cynicism." We have not seen enough yet of these young men to know whether they are really a new generation or just a clique. It would be unfair to judge the depth of their realism by events so far.

Among older realists of a very different stripe, we have the disengagers. When Mr. Kennan talks about disarmed belts or Mr. Lippmann urges concentration on the areas where we have real strength, they are obviously talking from long and hard thought and deserve the closest attention. It is no part of my purpose in this article to assess their particular suggestions, but it seems probable that we need to concentrate our efforts *somewhere*.

All these realists, however, seem to leave out one great reality, the only one about which Senator Goldwater and some of the extreme liberals are right. What they leave out is the need and power of faith. It may be true, as some of the disengagers say, that we can get along without Cuba or Laos or South Vietnam. But we cannot get along with a sustained sense of defeat. To know what we can give up, we must know what we value most. Otherwise we are too likely to panic, and the result will be either defeatism, or, more likely, suicidal counterattack.

Similarly, the sophisticated, hard-boiled postliberalism of the new generation will be less successful than Wilsonian idealism un-

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less it can, like that idealism, stir the hearts of millions of people. So far, there is little sign that it has done so.

A terribly difficult task faces us all. We must develop not only new policies, but a new frame of mind—a frame of mind that takes account at the same time of hopes and realities, of purposes and limitations. It is in part our history that makes this difficult.

Americans, more than most peoples, have always needed to believe in their foreign policy. As Mr. Kennan has pointed out with the nostalgia of the professional diplomat, other countries sometimes trust their experts. Here the art of foreign policy, for better or worse, includes the art of popular persuasion. It is always possible to drum up a sudden outburst of popular indignation over a *Maine* or a *Lusitania*. But sustained action in foreign policy, which we clearly need now, had best be in harmony with sustained popular feelings.

This used to be comparatively easy. Americans have agreed, more than most modern peoples, on what they have wanted for themselves and even for others. In the most general terms, and not without conflict over priorities, they have wanted political freedom, economic progress and peace. Both duty and interest have pointed in the same general direction. Washington, in his Farewell Address, indicated the essential harmony of things by asking a purely rhetorical question. "Can it be," asked the first President, "that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue?" For a long time after Washington the answer became clearer and clearer: virtue and felicity, goodness and success, were almost the same thing.

In the nineteenth century our hearts were pure and our borders expanding. We had no tinsel courts nor standing armies; we entertained no ambitions; we simply could not stop growing bigger and richer and safer. Abroad, despite temporary setbacks here and there, the kind of government we enjoyed so thoroughly was spreading through the world. Clearly the manifest destiny of the world included democracy, private property and constitutional government.

It was only in the twentieth century that the dictates of idealism

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and interest seemed to become separate, and it was then that we began to gyrate wildly back and forth between one and the other. Most of our mistakes have come from a combination of insistent, blindfold idealism and crude, immediate pseudopracticality. False realism ruled, for instance, throughout most of the Second World War, when, as usual, military leaders refused to consider the political consequences of their acts. This sort of ruthlessness extended well beyond professional circles. I remember temporary and minor strategists, civilians in uniform a little inclined to swagger, dismissing all questions about a proposed move except, "How many Japs will it kill?"

Yet at the same time foolish idealism ruled high policy. It ruled when, as Robert Sherwood describes it, Hopkins left Yalta convinced that American-Russian collaboration had secured the peace of the world and the progress of the peoples. There was to be sure reason to hope but not to be certain. And above all there was an obligation to consider distasteful possibilities. In some liberal circles at the time it seemed clear that only a reactionary, only someone who didn't really believe in the century of the common man and the march of the people, would even raise the question of future disagreements with Russia. And the two opposites worked together: we dropped the bomb and left Berlin surrounded.

The same familiar pair of errors was involved in the Cuban invasion. Foolish idealism must have been at work convincing some of its sponsors that the Cuban people would heed the call of liberation, even when liberation came in North American transports. Foolish realism, on the other hand, dictated the brutal shenanigans of the CIA, and the incredible disregard of public opinion both at home and abroad. The Cuban misadventure was not, as some dismayed liberals thought, the product of sinister intentions. It was the product of a familiar and disturbing kind of political and moral schizophrenia.

The same two errors mark all the varieties of current opinion we have discussed. Forget morality, traditional ideals and world opinion, says one extreme group, and secure our interests by force. Give up force, say others, and we will be able to secure our interests by negotiation, by supporting social reform, by generating good-

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will. Few realize that the situation demands, always and in every instance, a difficult marriage of power and purpose. Fewer still admit, as we must admit if we are to learn to face the facts, that no method may be sufficient to achieve victory in the present situation. This, I think, is what causes the falseness of tone: we have been afraid, so far, to admit the real seriousness of the situation.

Part of it we have learned to accept. We know we cannot use ultimate force without having it used against us. Some of us realize that force short of this may be inadequate in some areas, and that its use may be politically impossible in others. Many have concluded that the present tension will not be ended by one more brief supreme exertion, that crisis will no longer be the exception, but the rule.

It is hard enough to accept limitations on our power and our freedom of action; it is still harder to accept the realization that history is not necessarily on our side. Some people, we are suddenly aware, do not like us or what we represent. There is no proof of our old assumption that the general movement of history is toward liberal democracy. It is a sobering thought to consider, as one of my friends who teaches European history suggests, the actual movement toward liberal democracy that has taken place since 1914, or even since 1900. There have been both losses and gains, mostly precarious gains. It is clear now that liberal democracy is not a sort of norm, the state of affairs that remains when Kaisers and dictators and empires are removed. It is rather a very difficult and delicate growth, hard to sustain even in its homelands and still more difficult—although not necessarily impossible—to transplant. Our civilization and society, we must realize if we are to see things straight, are not the destiny toward which the whole world inevitably tends. They are simply a civilization and society we very much like and want to maintain. Can we endure this realization?

Since we do not know the answer to this question I prefer, in the spirit of William James, to assume the affirmative. I think we may indeed learn to get along without the millennial vision that has led us, in the twentieth century, to so many bitter disappointments. There is a certain liberation in being on one's own, sustained by

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one's hopes rather than by the march of manifest destiny. Our opponents, who cling desperately to a historical blueprint of their own, have often been misled by it. If the nineteenth-century prophecies of democracy's manifest destiny have often failed, so have the nineteenth-century predictions of Marxist theory. All is not lost, as I believe some of us unconsciously assume, if we give up the certainty of success. There are, by the soberest count, many reasons for hope.

First, as countries go, we are agreed about what we like. Here the patriots of the right are, I think, essentially correct. Our most consistent and militant dedication has been to liberty, that is, to a maximum of individual freedom of choice. Social progress has been a powerful second. This is not a dedication that cuts us off from everybody else in the world. Parliamentary democracy may not be the destiny of the world, but a maximum of individual freedom seems to be a pretty deep-seated human want. It is probably true that full bellies come first, but it is surprising how often some sort of freedom—intellectual, political, religious—seems to come second. There have been obvious stirrings of freedom even in countries long subjected to the propaganda of the total state. We should never count on these, but we should never despair of them either. If we have undergone some defeats in recent times, we have also won some victories. The greatest of these was, most people would agree, the Marshall Plan, the one point at which generosity and policy, our best traditions and our most subtly conceived interests, seemed most to come together.

Second, since we are a very historically minded country, it is important that not all our historical tradition consists of the outworn platitudes of Manifest Destiny. As Reinhold Niebuhr has memorably pointed out, our greatest national hero demonstrated his greatness facing a situation he knew to be basically hopeless. In 1858 Lincoln could say that slavery was evil, but that it could not be extirpated without disaster. And in 1865, in his greatest utterance, he could ask his countrymen to carry on, to dedicate themselves even in the midst of war to a "rebirth of freedom," while admitting that they were ignorant of either the real causes or the real results of the war. It is easier to make some sort of working solution

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to the problem of limited means and unlimited dedication if one is, as Lincoln was only in a very general way, religious. But in this sort of very general way, many of us *are* religious.

If, as I am suggesting, we finally, at long last, say good-by to the illusions of manifest destiny, our problems will not be solved. No reorientation will give us a quick and sure solution for the ancient problem of power and morals, ends and means. No new attitude will produce solutions for our pressing problems. Success for us must come, if at all, as it did for Lincoln, from day-to-day calculations of frustrating kinds.

Yet the change of approach I am suggesting—and it is one that many have suggested in slightly different terms—may, I think, help us to make these choices. If we abandon the illusions of inevitable triumph, we may be able to see our purposes more clearly and to choose the immediate steps that are both relevant to these purposes and within our powers.

Our first concern, I believe, should be the rebirth of freedom at home that Lincoln invoked. This is necessary, it is within our power, it is related to all our purposes, at home and abroad. Even now, with all our imperfections, the freedom and creativity of American life are our greatest asset. People with experience in foreign cultural programs nearly all know this. European and Asian students, for instance, seldom believe the well-intentioned lecturers who talk to them abroad, but few altogether resist the effects of a stay in one of our free universities. In our choked and ugly cities, our blatant and foolish mass media, our obsolete racial customs and qualified civil liberties lie our surest frontier.

Second, and less palatably, we must do what we can to achieve relative—since there is no absolute—military security. This does not mean the use of force where force can achieve nothing. Still less does it mean demanding an end to criticism of the military; this might well be a disaster to security. Probably the only dependable military security in the long run would come from inspected disarmament. But this is in the long run and liberals—I am speaking here of nonpacifist liberals—must take more account of military problems than they have liked to do.

Third comes the *alianza para progreso,* in all languages. We

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must of course do our best to support freedom where it exists and social progress where we can further it. But we should separate these objectives from military security and propaganda. We should never support what we believe in so that people will feel grateful, because they hardly ever will. And we should approach our duties in this sphere with considerable modesty. We have neither the responsibility nor the power to bring about a good society everywhere.

Fourth, and perhaps most necessary of all, we must get back in the habit of telling the truth, not only to our friends and enemies, but still more to ourselves. There is very little that needs to be concealed for military reasons, but I am not speaking primarily of suppression. I am speaking rather of slick distortion, of the kind of timid half-truth that has characterized, I think, all sides of the current debate. As a concrete beginning, we might agree to ban for a year the use of three words: America's image abroad. Not the image but the reality should be our concern and we should aim not at affection, but at respect.

Merely to abandon the illusions of manifest destiny will not, I repeat, give us the answers to any problems. We would find the same alternatives that confront us now still before us, and we would doubtless follow much the same policies. But perhaps we might, for a change, follow them with dignity. We might get out of the habit of panicking at every setback. That would make a very big difference.

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PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS & PREJUDICES

THE DURABLE ISSUE: Harry S. Ashmore was the executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* from 1948 to 1959, and in 1958 was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing. At present he is editor in chief and vice president of Encyclopedia Britannica and a board member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California. Mr. Ashmore is the author of *The Negro and the Schools, Epitaph for Dixie* and *The Other Side of Jordan.*

AN APOLOGY FOR POLITICS: John Brademas, United States Representative from the Third District of Indiana, has been a Democratic Member of Congress since 1958. Mr. Brademas was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford, assistant professor of political science at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, and, in 1955-56, executive assistant to Adlai E. Stevenson. He serves on the Education and Labor Committee of the House, and was a member of the congressional delegation to the First Inter-American Parliamentary Conference in Lima, Peru, in 1959. Mr. Brademas' article is based on an address delivered at the Western Reserve University Assembly on National Goals, Cleveland, Ohio, May 13, 1961.

WHERE "POWERFUL" LABOR STANDS TODAY: Kenneth Fiester, a former New Jersey newspaperman and Newspaper Guild leader, has been working for the labor movement since 1946. He was public relations director for the Textile Workers Union of America and editor of *Textile Labor,* publications director for the United Auto Workers and editor of *Solidarity,* and he is now with the AFL-CIO in Washington.

THE GRINGO AND THE REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA: William C. Baggs, editor of the *Miami News,* is the United States Observer to the new Caribbean Organization, established in September. Before World War II, he lived in Latin America and was associated with the *Star & Herald* in Panama. He has traveled as a newspaperman to every republic in the Americas, and has lectured on Latin affairs at various universities, most recently at Yale University.

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The Durable Issue

HARRY S. ASHMORE

In the manic season when Fidel Castro expressed his outrage at the United States and the United Nations by taking up residence in Harlem I journeyed uptown to see how the Cuban diplomatic entourage was making out among the retired prizefighters, trumpet players and numbers runners who normally populate the Hotel Theresa. The mission was undertaken in the company of a journalist who originated in Georgia and inherited his middle name from his great-great-uncle, John C. Calhoun. Under the circumstances, it seemed prudent to arrange for a colored colleague from the local *Amsterdam News* to convoy us through the thrusting crowd that by day and night responded to Dr. Castro's bearded presence and provided him with emotional sustenance. In mid-passage our escort admonished us: "Look, it's bad enough being here with two white men. For God's sake quit talking in that corn-pone accent!"

Later I remarked to a group of Harlem friends upon this and other evidence of what seemed to me a marked change in climate since I had wandered through those precincts a few months before without consciousness that possession of a white skin might constitute a breach of the peace. "Let me," one of them replied, "pass you the latest word. When you got Kasavubu and Mobutu, who needs Amos and Andy?"

The anecdote, I think, fairly epitomizes a confused and confusing new element in the American scene: the transfer of leadership in the continuing Negro protest movement from sympathetic white intellectuals to colored activists; the shift of focus from the courtroom to the sidewalk; the mystic identification of American Negroes with the nonwhite and off-white peoples who are in revolt around the globe; and the ideological frustration that derives from the fact that they can't mount a revolution of their own because they are not seeking freedom from white rule but general admission to a substantially closed white society. I find it impossible to imagine an utterance by any of the Africans and Asians I have known that would be remotely comparable to the Harlem wisecrack, which derives from the uniquely American school of sophisticated social satire identified with the nightclub prophet, Mort Sahl.

A discerning Negro writer, Louis Lomax, has attempted to measure the changing attitude of the Negro community in terms of its humor. He finds a significant shift from the old, sly servility of the minstrel days to a style analogous to that of the great Jewish comedians of a generation ago who were willing to ridicule the foibles of their own people in order to emphasize the larger absurdity inherent in the majority's attitude toward the minority. I do not know whether this apparent manifestation of maturity, or at least of self-confidence, significantly applies, as Mr. Lomax suggests, to the whole of the American Negro people. But certainly it is characteristic of the new, youthful leadership, and it represents a significant departure from the defensive reflex of a few years ago that resulted in the banning of *Little Black Sambo* and the bowdlerization of W. C. Handy.

I consider this, hopefully, part of a general advance toward reality. For a long time sociologists have been telling us what we already knew about the American race problem, moralists have been telling us what we ought to do about it, and politicians have been telling us it couldn't be done. It is, of course, quite true that we can't enforce brotherhood. But it is equally true that we can't afford to postpone the fabrication of a workable substitute while we wait for the millennium.

There is considerable evidence that dur-

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ing the disturbed postwar decades we may have effectively laid the groundwork for a reasonable racial accommodation which will permit accelerated material progress for the previously submerged colored minority. At least we have emerged from the Southern travail with a new set of ground rules, pronounced by the courts and certified by federal police action.

There is splendid irony in this development. When leadership of the South's resistance movement was thrust upon Orval Faubus by the bully-boys of the White Citizens Councils, the Arkansan clumsily ground up in short order a whole sequence of evasive statutes more subtle and sophisticated men had designed to permit a decade or two of legal toe-dancing in the courts. Governor Faubus made his state a direct party to federal action and abrogated the doctrine of local control of public education by forcibly seizing the Little Rock school district over the protests of the local board; he compounded this tactical error by attempting to rig local school elections; he blew up the theory of the state's right to exercise police power to prevent impending disorder by calling out his National Guard, not to disperse a mob, but to support its defiance of a court order; and finally he undercut the possibility of effective informal negotiation between state and federal authorities by a public demonstration of bad faith after his Newport armistice agreement with the millennium-minded President Eisenhower. By the time Louisiana's officialdom got around to encouraging the effort to halt school desegregation in New Orleans by mob action the line of court precedent was so clear and tight there wasn't even room for preliminary argument.

The intransigent leaders of Alabama have carried on after Mr. Faubus' fashion in the face of the sit-ins and freedom rides. Armed United States marshals in tin hats arrived at Montgomery in force to demonstrate that no one is going to get away with defending local mores by striking a Negro over the head with a baseball bat or setting fire to a white theological student. Moreover the Department of Justice taught another lesson clear enough to impress even the Montgomery mob's rooters across the line in Mississippi: federal police action will no longer be delayed until enough blood has been shed to demonstrate that local authorities have failed to preserve the peace. Reasonable doubt is now assumed in the case of an official who proclaims his devotion to law and order in a public pronouncement that also expresses doubt that he will be able to discharge his obligation unless the agitators give up and go away.

Finally, the Alabama legislature employed Faubusian double-talk in a statute that gerrymandered all Negro voters out of the city of Tuskegee without reference to race, creed or color. Even the strictest constructionist on the Supreme Court, Justice Frankfurter, was forced to conclude that there is such a thing as motivational transparency. As a matter of fact, about the only unanimous opinions that come down from the high court these days are those in the Southern resistance cases.

It is a singular fact that even those who are enforcing and expanding the new ground rules frequently do not appear to understand what they have done and are doing. When buses bearing freedom riders started going up in flames in Alabama, the first reaction of a high official of the Kennedy Administration was to call the Reverend Martin Luther King for advice. This was followed, with a politician's instinct for balance, by a call to the Governor of South Carolina. Never, it seems to me, has there been a more flagrant waste of the taxpayer's money on long distance tolls. No sixth sense was required to divine in advance that Mr. King would say, Carry on! and Mr. Hollings would say, Halt!

The point is that the preservation of order is not any longer debatable, and the ultimate responsibility for maintaining it has been clearly fixed in Washington. In this year of the Civil War Centennial this may be regarded as a poignant memorial to the demise of the hallowed doctrine of States' Rights. But even those who regard this as an occasion for mourning have no more reason to expect a reversal of the

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trend than they have to expect reconsideration of the verdict rendered at Appomattox Courthouse.

The importance, and indeed the existence of this new condition, has largely escaped general notice because those who are most vocal on the subject of race relations usually take a stance somewhere in the far reaches of the great, agonizing moral issue. The result is to convey an impression of irreconcilable conflict when in fact a great many significant adjustments are taking place, and all of these that have so far endured have been in the Negro's favor. We may not be changing the hearts and minds of men, as President Eisenhower suggested we would have to do, but we are, as President Kennedy constantly enjoins us, moving.

The rate of progress is, of course, wholly unsatisfactory to those who are actively engaged in the Negro crusade, or who lend it philosophical support. Thus Attorney General Kennedy was a hero one day, when his agents moved into Montgomery, and a bum the next, when he publicly recommended a cooling off period for the freedom riders. It was suggested, through curled lips, that Mr. Kennedy had no moral right to so address a group of American citizens seeking justice by lawful means. What seems to me more important is the evident futility of his gesture. The Negro crusade may falter on occasion, and shift its ground, but its embattled leaders are no more likely than their white adversaries to respond to an appeal made in the name of sweet reason.

The prospect that we may be able to endure an extended period of racial tension without lapsing into more than incidental violence is bolstered by a set of stubborn facts which, for obvious tactical reasons, the Negro leadership is unwilling to recognize. Anyone who can consider the record of the past ten years without having his blood pressure pass the boiling point must conclude that wholesale integration of the white and Negro communities, which is the crusade's stated end and the source of its adversaries' unreasoning fears, is not in sight and may very well be receding.

In less than twenty years Negroes have been able to bring about a drastic redefinition of their legal status. In case after case the courts of last resort have considered ingenious variations on the segregationist theme and methodically reaffirmed the right of Negroes to vote, serve on juries, enjoy protection of person and property and obtain free access to any public place. Now Negroes are successfully engaged in securing those rights against whites who refuse to respect them no matter what the law may say. They are able to do this because the Federal Administration, however reluctantly, is perforce an ally in their cause whether a Democrat or a Republican happens to be in residence in the White House.

While some Negroes in the feudal backwaters of the South have not yet been perceptibly affected by these changes, they represent a measurable advance for the great majority, and the developing pattern carries with it the prospect of steady expansion by law, fiat and consent into the last critical areas of forced segregation, employment and housing. This does not, however, add up to integration in the sense that abused word is commonly used; the experience of the non-South, which in the great migration of recent years received almost half of the nation's Negroes and promptly segregated them, has demonstrated that brotherhood does not automatically take hold in the absence of legal barriers to racial commingling.

I do not intend to dismiss the moral considerations that underlie the present posture of the Federal Government; segregation, like the slavery that preceded it, has never rested easy on the American conscience. Yet it is in the nature of a democracy to move hesitantly when the immediate interests at stake are those of a politically impotent minority, and can be served only by coercing a larger minority that is emotionally agitated and politically powerful. This was the condition that prevailed while Negroes were largely concentrated in the old Confederacy, but the balance has shifted, and the colored minority now exercises ef-

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fective political leverage of its own—and this as a direct consequence of the residential segregation that groups Negroes in solid voting blocs at critical pressure points in the federal structure.

Thus the pattern of separation Negroes seek to destroy has provided the most effective weapon in their forward march, and for the next generation or two may well turn out to be self-perpetuating. This ambivalence causes a certain amount of brooding in intellectual circles, but it does not appear to divert the pragmatists who are presently deploying the colored shock troops. Harlem's Negro Democratic leader, J. Raymond Jones, replied with a snort when I asked what he thought of the American Civil Liberties Union's insistence that racial identification be eliminated from all census records. "Silliest damned thing I ever heard of," he said. "I'm losing too many voters the way it is with all this passing across the color line. How am I going to go down to City Hall and get anything done for my people if I can't prove where they are?"

I do not suggest that the Negro quest for genuinely equal treatment and opportunity will not ultimately lead to full social acceptance in the community at large; but the second goal does not appear to be presently possible, while the first does. It is only within this limit that success can be accorded the extralegal devices of the sit-in, wade-in, ride-in and fly-in. And it must be noted, too, that a contributing factor has been the prevailing blandness that has accompanied the affluence of American society. Only in the Negro protest movement can one now see evidence of sustained mass passion for change; by comparison the emotional maunderings of the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society are mutterings of discontent in a closed room.

Progress on these terms, substantial though it may be, only adds to the frustration of the pure in heart. Thomas F. Pettigrew, a Harvard social psychologist, has observed in the *Christian Century* that the failure of many Americans to grasp the full meaning of the Christian imperative on race "seems to be less a matter of blatant bigotry than it is the resistance of a counter-ideology—the ideology of so-called moderation. . . . Generally moderates are mild, not wild segregationists; they are the 'gentle people of prejudice' who have deep doubts about racial equality though they are educated enough to suspect that the desegregation process is inevitable."

Professor Pettigrew's description is, I think, accurate. Moreover, it is applicable not only to Southerners but to the considerable majority of white Americans. Nor would I quarrel with Mr. Pettigrew's judgment that moderates have no answer to the race problem, and are incapable of finding one. Moderation is not the stuff of which social reform is made. But if the typical bemused American has no activating passion for justice he has a great respect for order, and the Negro leadership is now in position to effectively remind him that he can no longer have one without the other.

I can agree with Professor Pettigrew that from St. Paul's point of view we are still far short of the mark so long as the American majority is willing to accord no more than a reluctant permissiveness to the legitimate aspirations of the colored minority. In less exalted perspective, however, this is no inconsiderable accomplishment. If we have not eradicated bigotry, we appear to have finally developed effective means of containing its most corrosive manifestations, and we have done so without undue violence to the democratic imperative that rests upon a free man's right to be wrong. On the assumption that Americans do not have a monopoly on prejudice, we may even be in position to point up a lesson or two for those who are discovering that eggs broken by revolution do not necessarily make an omelet.

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An Apology for Politics

JOHN BRADEMAS

In recent months there has been a good deal of discussion of national goals in the United States. I refer, for example, to the work of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals and to the series of articles on national purpose in *Life* and the *New York Times*.

There is a sense in which a declaration of national goals for Americans runs against the grain of our history. The recitation of objectives to which all of us as good Americans ought to bend has a flavor of ideology about it that is out of keeping with our traditions of diversity and individualism. The Soviet Union may appropriately set forth a five-year plan of national goals to be achieved: it is a society founded upon a monolithic ideology. Consensus upon goals is, in effect, imposed upon Soviet citizens.

In the United States, on the other hand, our national efforts are based upon a pragmatic politics, not an ideological one. We are more disposed to grapple with each problem as it comes along. We are suspicious, and justifiably, of any kind of Rousseauan effort to articulate a "general will" for all society and to demand conformity to it.

Yet most of us surely can agree with President Eisenhower's Commission that our goals are "to preserve and enlarge our own liberties, to meet a deadly menace, and to extend the area of freedom throughout the world." The fact that we can agree on national objectives, so broadly put, means, however, that they tend to be regarded as above politics and beyond partisanship. It is this attitude that I believe to be erroneous.

I would argue that the accomplishment of national goals in a truly free society may largely depend precisely upon our willingness to take the plunge into political action. It is irresponsible, and even dangerous, to pronounce grandly about national goals and then to turn one's back upon one of the chief instruments of a democracy for achieving them—politics.

I use the word "dangerous" because it is clear to us all that the Communist world now confronts the United States as our hostile rival, deploying its total resources, human and material, against us in every way, military, political and economic. In a press conference in Chicago last May, President Kennedy summed up the challenge of this struggle. The fundamental problem, he said, was how a free society could "come to actions which would permit us to compete successfully with the discipline of the Communist state."

We know what the enforced discipline of the Soviet Union has already achieved. Soviet reconstruction after World War II, the development of nuclear weapons and the Russian successes in space are impressive enough. A significant but much less widely recognized fact is that radical changes in both theory and technique are now in progress in the Soviet Union and the other Communist nations and that these changes seem to assure a sharply accelerated increase in the military and economic power of the Communist world. I refer to the new surge in productive capacity that is being provided in the Soviet world by automation and scientific planning. Since the end of World War II, and especially since the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union has debated and adopted a set of new ideas, new techniques that are resulting in a root and branch reorganization of industry and government—indeed, of the entire Soviet society. For example, until recently the study of formal logic and the closely related mathematical logic was outlawed by Marxist dogma. Mathematicians were denied the tools essential to the design of computers and vital control devices. Econometrics, the

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mathematical economics so essential to industrial planning, was regarded with equal hostility. As late as 1956, production statistics, without which the industrial planner plays a blindfold game, were treated as state secrets.

In a series of crucial debates, Soviet scientists and technologists have won the right to use essential techniques, inconsistencies with Marxist ideology notwithstanding. The Soviets, in effect, are adopting Western scientific techniques while retaining the political techniques of a totalitarian state. This combination, together with a new willingness to turn their backs on ideology when pragmatism proves more rewarding, represents an even greater threat than we in the democratic world have known before.

Now it is obviously the responsibility of a Member of Congress to concern himself with this increasing power of the Communist world. He must vote on defense, on foreign aid and on other measures that directly affect the capacity of the United States to meet that power. Yet a Congressman does not vote in a vacuum. He is a member of a political party, he comes from a particular state and district, and he brings his own outlook to the consideration of the issues on which he must shout "aye" or "no."

My point is that although a Congressman can agree on the national goals of "meeting a deadly menace and extending the area of freedom throughout the world," he must see the achievement of these goals through the prism of his own political situation and the problems of his own Congressional district.

Let me discuss just one example of the kind of problem a Congressman faces back home, where he is elected, and indicate its relevance to the overriding problem of Communist expansion. In this way, we can put some political flesh on the bones of President Kennedy's challenge: "Can an open, free society compete effectively with a closed, totalitarian society?"

I represent a district in northern Indiana of just under a half million people. The total labor force for the district is some 185,000. An alarmingly high percentage—more than ten per cent—have this year been fully unemployed. The economic situation is thus the number one problem of my district, the one to which I give much of my time as a Congressman.

Now what does this mean in everyday terms? It means that in Washington I get hundreds of letters from unemployed persons. It means that when I go home over a weekend I find a list of phone calls from persons, some of whom I last knew in high school, wanting my help in getting them a job. It means that I spend a considerable amount of time encouraging the businessmen of my district to be more aggressive and more competitive in seeking government contracts, because, to put the matter bluntly, more government work in my district means more jobs in my district.

Full employment, a goal that has been a matter of law, of public policy, since the Employment Act of 1946, may not seem to many readers of this journal so urgent or pressing an objective as it does to some thousands of people in the Third District of Indiana and in many other areas of the United States. But it should.

For our country cannot afford the lost production caused when millions go without work for long periods of time. Moreover, the Federal Government cannot afford the heavy loss of tax revenues caused by widespread unemployment and a sharp drop in corporation profits. The Government needs the money to pay the nation's bills for defense and foreign aid and all our other commitments. Millions of jobless workers make little contribution to fiscal stability and they certainly are no spur to the economic growth that is another of the national goals most of us endorse.

Nor does it become the citadel of the free enterprise system to present to the world abroad a nation that is so sorely troubled to keep its working men and women at work. I think the problem of mass unemployment ought particularly to concern us because of the suffering it represents for the millions of individual human beings and their families who want jobs and cannot find them. Do not we in the West pride ourselves that the signifi-

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cant distinction between our side and the Communist world is our conviction that the individual is supreme, and that it is toward his freedom and well-being that all our efforts are ultimately directed?

It is not enough simply to come out in favor of employment and against unemployment. Even the scribes and the Pharisees do this. The challenge is to encourage, within the framework of a free market economy and free political institutions, economic growth and full employment.

President Kennedy's Administration has already moved toward some solutions. The Area Redevelopment Bill, for example, which Congress passed this year, will provide loans and grants to areas suffering from substantial unemployment for long periods of time. The purpose of the bill is to encourage more industry and more job opportunities in such hard-hit communities.

The President has sent to Congress a tax revision bill designed to stimulate more business investment in plant and equipment. He earlier in his Administration ordered a step-up in defense expenditures and other federal construction and procurement programs. Tax refunds and veterans' life insurance dividends have been speeded up.

One could enumerate other actions taken by both President and Congress to combat the recession, and yet few experts in Washington today would contend that we shall soon make substantial inroads on the extremely high level of unemployment with which President Kennedy found himself confronted on Inauguration Day. Clearly then, we cannot simply pronounce ourselves in favor of the goal of full employment without following through in support of measures, both private and governmental, to promote it.

It is not only for the reasons I have already suggested that we must attend to the unemployment problem here at home. The effectiveness with which we resolve or fail to resolve the problem of unemployment will spill over into the achievement of our other national goals, specifically, "meeting a deadly menace and extending the area of freedom throughout the world."

For example, the President's Commission on National Goals comes out strongly for the freest possible world trade. But I represent a district where we manufacture musical instruments, bicycles and canvas rubber shoes—all items that face intense competition from abroad. Is it realistic to expect me, as a representative of the people of my district, to divorce the problem of serious unemployment in South Bend and Mishawaka, Indiana, from the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act next year?

What will obviously be required is the political insight to see that our success in meeting the unemployment problem this year is directly related to the prospects for renewing the reciprocal trade program next year. A declaration in favor of both employment and free trade will not be enough to achieve either. We shall need all the political skill and imagination we can get to make progress in both directions, for the road ahead in Congress will not be smooth.

I can make a similar point with respect to the foreign aid program. I was a strong supporter of President Eisenhower's foreign aid programs. Charlie Halleck and I marched down the aisle together to vote for them several times, and I support President Kennedy in this regard as well. For, as Walter Lippmann said recently, we must make it "our central and persistent and unswerving policy to offer" to what Mr. Lippmann termed "these unhappy countries" in Asia, Africa and Latin America the option of "economic development and social improvement without the totalitarian discipline of Communism."

Yet here again a Congressman with heavy unemployment in his district will be pressed by his constituents to explain how he can vote "all that money for foreign countries" when so many of them at home are sorely pressed to make ends meet. Moral: those who appreciate the central importance to the foreign policy of the United States and to the security of the free world of a sound aid program for the underdeveloped areas should apply themselves with vigor to solving the unemployment problem here at home. And this they cannot do with-

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out involving themselves in politics—and not all of it nonpartisan!

President Kennedy's problem, on foreign aid, on foreign trade, on unemployment, is to develop among the opinion-makers of the country a sense of urgency about the difficulties confronting us and then to mobilize support for specific measures to attack those difficulties. This is what Presidential leadership largely means in the American democracy—communication to the citizenry of a sense of urgency, of purpose and then of responsibility for action. He must also make clear that all these goals are interrelated, that the higher price the housewife pays for coffee may mean a better chance for freedom in Brazil.

Now there has been considerable discussion recently about a resurgence of conservatism in American life. Certainly the opposition to President Kennedy's program in Congress has come from those who would be called conservatives in both parties. Yet that opposition has not been potent enough to defeat such Administration measures as minimum wage, unemployment compensation, area redevelopment, social security and housing legislation.

Outside Congress, undeniably, the Right Wing has grown more active and more strident. This development, it seems to me, is largely explained by the desire of many Americans, confronted with a world of tension and complexity, to find simple answers. Many of the militants of the far Right still suffer from what Denis Brogan once called "the illusion of American omnipotence." They do not understand, as Senator Fulbright said not long ago, "There are limitations to foreign policy. We are neither omniscient nor omnipotent and we cannot aspire to make the world over in our image. Our proper objective is a continuing effort to limit the world struggle for power and to bring it under civilized rules."

It is true that the new radicals of the Right largely confine themselves to attack. Their arguments ignore the facts of vital foreign and domestic issues and they characteristically fail to suggest feasible alternatives for action in the real world. But the last-ditchers of the Far Right are at least full of passionate intensity. It is the absence of this passion in the many who are with the President in spirit that might be said to be at the heart of Mr. Kennedy's problem of leadership. For our greatest adversary, he said at Chicago, is not the Soviet Union. Nor, I would interject, is it even the new know-nothings of the extreme Right, who want to contract out of the world.

Our most perilous foe, said the President, is "our own unwillingness to do what is necessary."

Doing "what is necessary" to achieve our foreign and domestic goals requires, I submit, that we must consider these goals in their political context and make informed decisions among alternative courses of action. For, as a great French theorist—it could have been De Gaulle—once said, "To govern is to choose."

Every time a Congressman votes, in committee or on the floor, he chooses. The responsible citizen, concerned to help maintain the fabric of freedom, must understand that to achieve goals, it is not enough to articulate them. He too must choose, and choice, in a democracy, means politics.

Some may tremble at the thought of the controversy and criticism that the assumption of political attitudes entails. I would remind them of the words of Albert Camus shortly before he died: "My conclusion will be simple. It will consist of saying in the very midst of sound and fury of our history: 'Let us rejoice.' Let us rejoice at being faced with cruel truths. . . . Let us seek the respite where it is, in the very thick of the battle."

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Where "Powerful" Labor Stands Today

KENNETH FIESTER

When the AMERICAN SCHOLAR first appeared in the gray dawn of 1932, the only appropriate article it might have contained about the labor movement would have been an obituary.

The deceased, this article might have said, did not come to his end by throwing himself off the roof of a Wall Street building, in stockbroker fashion; nor had he starved to death, the less spectacular but equally probable alternative at the time. The labor movement had perished of pernicious anemia, after an illness of more than ten years.

So it seemed. Union membership was down to about three million and still shrinking. With the collapse of President Hoover's "wage maintenance" policy in 1931, one pay slash followed another. Displaced gangsters infested the shattered remnants of unions to an extent beyond the wildest nightmares of Senator McClellan. But worst of all, lassitude was labor's reaction to the Great Depression.

The American Federation of Labor sought pitifully to make common cause with a friendless President who clearly felt he wasn't friendless enough for that. The AFL nevertheless stood loyally against unemployment compensation, minimum wage laws, federal pensions and virtually all other forms of government "interference." Meanwhile the yellow dog contract, the ex parte injunction, the company spies and professional strikebreakers flourished.

Today the labor movement stands at what seems to most citizens to be the pinnacle of its power. More than fifteen million Americans belong to unions, some thirteen million to unions affiliated with the great central federation, the AFL-CIO. Imposing edifices of granite, marble and stainless steel house the chosen leaders of these millions. Union strength has done much to bring the nation through four recessions in twelve years without pay cuts. Pension and welfare funds established through collective bargaining are counted in the tens of billions. Leaders of the AFL-CIO have no need to seek the friendship of Presidents; Presidents seek theirs. The old battle cry of the old AFL, "voluntarism," is as dead as free silver; labor today is inextricably (and voluntarily) involved with the concept of the welfare state. The labor movement takes a position on practically everything the Federal Government undertakes, and is in the forefront of those urging it to undertake more.

To a very considerable number of Americans this new position of labor is, to say the least, pernicious. The crassness of Hoffa and the amours of Cross have been featured on television as well as in headlines. The "labor boss" has become a household fixture, one of the *lares et penates* of our time. The American who believes in a "secret government" or "shadow cabinet" no longer sees J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller or some faceless Rothschild pulling the strings; now his nightmares involve, according to his orientation, Jimmy Hoffa, Walter Reuther, George Meany or (such is the lasting force of personality) John L. Lewis.

All this is pretty funny. It would be funny, at any rate, to some Prometheus who could afford the luxury of Homeric laughter. For in the very period when we hear so much about the power and arrogance of labor, and when some of its trappings would seem to justify what's said, the truth is that the labor movement is in fearful trouble—trouble that threatens to envelop not just the unions, but our whole society.

The best-known area of union trouble is internal. Conflicts between craft and industrial unions have grown, sometimes in defiance of decisions by the AFL-CIO's jur-

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isdictional "court." Mutual animosity has grown much faster. Hardly a week passes without a prediction from some newspaper pundit that the slender hyphen linking the two old central organizations is about to snap under the strain.

Yet these internal skirmishes are among the least of labor's troubles. Walter Reuther may be increasingly impatient with what he regards as the glacial pace of George Meany's action on programs that both support. Meany may be irritated by what he considers Reuther's devotion to loud noises and waste motion. But as Meany said in a letter to the *New York Times,* "those of us who took such great pains to reunite the labor movement will exert at least as much effort to preserve the united trade union movement." In short, the AFL-CIO may be an unhappy family but no one wants to be remembered as the one who broke it up.

Vastly more important in labor's catalogue of ills is the slow but steady decline in union membership as a proportion of the total work force. Employment is contracting at an alarming rate in manufacturing, mining, transportation and agriculture, the first three of which have accounted for much of trade unionism's numerical strength. Since it is generally agreed that true automation is still in its infancy, more grievous cuts are sure to come. This shrinkage, it should be noted, is unrelated to the ebb and flow of business conditions; it is absolute, and those who are displaced by it have little hope of returning to their jobs no matter what new heights may be reached in production.

Employment has increased, on the other hand, in the service trades, in certain white-collar categories (although they, too, are hit by automation) and among technical and engineering personnel. These are precisely the groups among which unions have made the least headway.

Also, beginning this year the influx of youngsters into the labor force will reach flood proportions. The "war babies" and their successors are emerging from the schools they have inundated since 1946, and are about to swamp the ill-prepared job market as well. Labor spokesmen have been sounding the alarm for years as part of their campaign for expanded job opportunities. And there's another aspect, too—these youngsters are hard to organize.

With total employment dropping in traditional union jurisdictions, leaving many thousands of loyal union members stranded beyond the help of their organizations, with the citadels of antiunionism still impregnable to organization, and with the youth of the nation apparently as cynical as Barry Goldwater about the union cause, it is understandable that the prevailing mood in the labor movement should be frustration, expressed in the cannibalism of jurisdictional disputes. A union that might pick up 2,000 new members by forthright organizing would worry very little about wresting twenty jobs from a rival; but when real growth is all but impossible, every job is precious.

Added to all this, and a part of it, is the drastic change in what Madison Avenue would call the "public image" of the labor movement. The bleakness and intellectual bankruptcy of trade unionism in 1931-32 gave way to the heady days of the early New Deal, when turmoil was fashionable in the best circles and union leaders could even be cast as heroes in the movies. Jean Arthur, the militant salesclerk, could bring social justice, the union shop and time-and-a-half-for-overtime to Charles Coburn's department store; Paul Muni could die bitterly for his exploited fellow miners; Walter Huston, as the very image of a modern President of the United States, could confound the fascists at home and abroad, to the acclaim of viewers and reviewers alike. Now what do we have? "I'm All Right, Jack."

Part of this, of course, is the labor movement's fault. Senator McClellan did not invent Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa or any of the others who passed before him. No newspaper publisher put communists in control of unions the old CIO had to expel, or forced so many AFL crafts to deny admission to qualified Negroes. To go back a bit, no malign force moved William Green and Philip Murray solemnly to assure Congress in 1946-47 that the Wagner

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Act was a perfect document and any and all amendments would be resisted to the death.

A greater share of the blame, though, lies with the communications media. For about twenty-five years, or ever since they regained their self-confidence, newspaper policy makers have been flailing away at union "evils," which in their lexicon begin when a union asks for more than the boss wants to give. Democratic politicians who complain about a "one-party press" don't know how lucky they are: only about four out of five papers are against them. Some of the most stalwart editorial allies of the Kennedy ticket in 1960 are lividly anti-union. Even "liberal" publishers are employers first.

What hurts most isn't editorial comment but news display. Trouble makes news; a strike is a form of trouble; *ergo,* a strike makes the wire services and gets into the paper, a peaceful settlement involving a like number of workers often does not. The result is a distorted public impression of organized labor.

Moreover, unions are at the wrong end of a double standard in news judgment. The most obscure maggots dug out by the McClellan investigators were sure of a place on Page 1, complete with art. How many unflattering poses of how many conspiring electrical manufacturers had comparable exposure?

Over a generation the presentation of news in this fashion may not have worn away the whole reputation of the labor movement but it has certainly changed its shape. Idealists and intellectuals no longer look upon the movement as the ultimate fount of social reform but rather as a once-promising innovation which, like women's suffrage, proved disappointing. A declaration of labor's ideals is apt to be greeted with derision by college undergraduates and unorganized workers alike. Perhaps this is why Hoffa's blatantly unidealistic Teamsters have at least held their own since their exile from the AFL-CIO, while unions not so cynical have dwindled.

The change in labor's public status has enormously complicated the task of organizing the unorganized, particularly the white-collar and technical groups that must now be won over. Unions must not only find new organizing appeals, a new rationale, to recruit these employer-oriented workers, but must overcome their misconceptions about trade unionism generally.

Even if the misconceptions were overcome and the new organizing tools developed, another, almost insuperable obstacle would remain in the form of federal law.

The unions have good reason for contending that the Taft-Hartley Act, more than any other single factor, operates to stop union growth dead in its tracks.

Under Taft-Hartley, an employer can browbeat union-minded workers, threaten to close the plant if they organize (just a "prophecy," the labor board ruled in a classic case), harangue them at captive-audience meetings, instigate the formation of "citizens' committees" to supplement his own efforts, and time a labor board election to suit his strategy. Firing the union ringleaders is actually illegal, but it happens because the remedy is slow, and the penalty so meaningless that it has been called a "license fee for union-busting."

Moreover, if despite these odds the union wins a labor board election, the employer can stall for months—meanwhile keeping up his anti-union campaign—until the leadership of the new union has been scattered and the rank and file overcome by despair. Against such tactics the only remedy is a strike. But even then, outside those few areas where trade unionism is traditional, a determined employer can win out with strikebreakers on one hand and a state injunction on the other.

In these circumstances, it is virtually impossible for any group of unorganized workers to establish a union and engage in collective bargaining if their employer chooses to prevent it.

This, then, is where the "powerful" labor movement stands today, declining in numbers as the labor force grows, its good name besmirched, its expansion blocked by worker indifference and legal obstructions. Only the collective bargaining power of long-established unions and the effective-

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ness of labor support for social legislation remain relatively unimpaired, and they cannot long survive the present trend.

As suggested earlier, these are not just labor's troubles. Despite the cynics, union organization remains, as Chief Justice Hughes described it, the only means through which a worker (blue collar or white) can achieve a measure of economic power and personal independence on the job. Strong unions remain the only effective instrumentality for assuring a reasonable share of the national income for wage and salary earners—essential to avoid a recurrence of 1929. The labor movement remains the people's lobby, the voice of the voiceless, without which the social legislation of the last generation would have been impossible, and without which big business domination of government would be re-established. Unions may be imperfect instruments but they are vital to the preservation and progress of our free society. A labor movement reduced to 1931 status would be a catastrophe even to those who most ardently seek that end.

For these reasons, rather than because of any signs of substantive relief, we who are a part of the labor movement believe it will survive and will resume its growth. It would be foolhardy to predict in detail what changes will take place, or when. But certain developments seem inevitable; a few of them—not in chronological or any other order of likelihood—are set forth below.

AFL-CIO structure. The AFL-CIO is now organized somewhat more loosely than the United States under the Articles of Confederation. A greater degree of federalism is badly needed to cope adequately with organizing, jurisdictional conflicts and civil rights. This will not come easily, since the 133 national unions cherish their autonomy more jealously than the state of South Carolina. There may be secessions in labor, too, but ultimately its central government will be strengthened.

Worker attitudes. Faint signs are already visible that unorganized wage earners are turning again toward unionism. The persistent increase in unemployment and the contracting factory work force will accelerate this trend, as seniority rights, severance pay and transfer privileges assume greater importance. There is also growing disillusionment among white-collar and technical personnel, including engineers, for the attractive starting salaries in these fields often fail to go up with the years. Although the labor movement so far has not been able to communicate adequately with these people, and is beset by conflicting and overlapping union jurisdictions, it will find solutions in time.

Labor law. It is reasonable to expect a friendlier attitude in the National Labor Relations Board as Eisenhower appointees are replaced by those of Kennedy. Few changes in basic labor law are likely. The two best possibilities are the legalizing of situs picketing (allowing a striking construction union to picket a job where other nonstriking unions are at work), and the restoration of the prehearing election (permitting the union, rather than the employer, to time the labor board vote).

Public attitudes. It is basic to the democratic faith that the people ultimately come to the right conclusions if they have access to the facts. As noted, the facts about the labor movement are not widely available in the press as a whole. Trade unionism is unlikely to regain the widespread sympathy it enjoyed in the middle thirties, but it appears that the incessant attacks of its enemies are losing effectiveness. There has even been a rise in friendly interest among undergraduates, suggesting that not all of them are enamoured of Barry Goldwater.

Neither, we think, is the nation.

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The Gringo and the Revolution in Latin America

WILLIAM C. BAGGS

Until recently, what was transpiring in Latin America did not noticeably trouble the people of our country. It was much to the contrary. John Denson, editor of *Newsweek* until he became editor of the *New York Herald Tribune* earlier this year, told a friend in 1956 that the circulators of his newsmagazine became visibly depressed whenever he positioned a Latin personality or a Latin issue on the cover of *Newsweek*. Sales slumped on newsstands across the country. Estes Kefauver, the second Mrs. Joe DiMaggio or Pierre Mendès-France on the cover of a newsmagazine did not repel the reader. But a Peron or a Vargas or the sorrowful economic dilemma in Bolivia did.

This indifference to news from Latin countries has changed, and various commentators explain the change in various ways. It appears likely, however, that the reason for our new interest is that the revolution in Latin America is now large enough to be seen from a distance.

The revolution is not new; it is only newly apparent to the casual observer. And a husky argument can be made that the revolution, seen now as climbing out of its crib and beginning to walk around, demands that the United States make a serious attempt to help the people of the Latin countries acquire the basic tools to help themselves.

Such an attempt would be new. The Good Neighbor policy of the Franklin Roosevelt days was more of a motto than a program, and the relatively small number of dollars involved often got no deeper into the population than the pockets of pleasantly situated Latin politicians. The Act of Bogota, in September of 1960, was a more ambitious expression of togetherness in the New World. The signatories agreed that the "sound social and economic progress of each is of importance to all." The Act of Bogota was given more than slogan status when our Congress voted $500,000,000 to finance it. The Act was vague, however, in what it specifically proposed, and so was the Alliance for Progress, announced a few months later by a new President of the United States. The revolution which is surely going to sweep across the Latin countries demands more.

Some observers, and some passers-by, have viewed the revolution as something that was started in Cuba by Fidel Castro Ruz. This is not true. Dr. Castro arrived on stage after the revolution was begun in other Latin countries—in Mexico, in Brazil, in Costa Rica, in Venezuela, in Peru. He rode, and he is now riding, a wave of the greater revolution.

The revolution across Latin America is essentially antipoverty. As Cuba demonstrates, the Communists are prospecting through the tides of the revolution. But the Communists, except in Cuba, do not dominate any prominent motions of the revolution. There is no more than occasional headline evidence that Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia or Manuel Prado of Peru are socialist reformers with hidden purposes. They are not in any way loyal to the Soviet Union. They are social-minded nationalists. Much the same appeared true of Jânio Quadros during his brief tenure as President of Brazil. Quadros' easy-going attitude toward Communist influence in Cuba might be explained as an effort to co-ordinate his notions of reform as nearly as he could to

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what he believed were the developing sentiments of the voters out in the precincts.

Yearling revolutions, however, are frisky. They leap in unexpected directions, as Quadros' case demonstrates. Yet many thoughtful Latin politicians must ponder, in such moments as they have for contemplation, whether some form of native Marxism or Western socialism is not going to attract more voting adherents in this general revolt against poverty. It is as vital that we understand this cause of anxiety among political leaders as it is that we understand the economic predicament of the people in the Latin republics today.

One index to the stride of the revolution is in the number of dictators still in business in the Latin countries. Just twelve years ago there were more dictators than any other political species in the executive palaces of Latin America. Now there are only three left: Fidel Castro, Alfredo Stroessner and Trujillo, Junior. It could be said that there are actually three and one-half dictators left. Luis Somoza is the President of Nicaragua. His father gave it to him. Yet the younger Somoza behaves as if he does not want the country, or at least not according to the old rules, for he has been instituting what appears to be basic constitutional reform.

The decline of the dictators has been accompanied by changes in the economic attitudes in Latin countries. Just as dictators are no longer fashionable, the United Fruit boat is not so large these days. There is a growing insistence on a greater distribution of the national wealth. But it does seem that political democracy is going to be realized much faster in most Latin countries than a reasonable form of economic democracy.

The two words, "Latin America," are somewhat a misnomer. There is no such thing as "Latin America," except in a geographical sense. In politics, in soil, in climate, in people, in national heritage and even in racial moods, there are vast differences among the Latin countries. Segregation, for instance, is illegal and unpopular in Brazil. Right next door—or just on the other side of Uruguay—one conversational staple, hackneyed by repetition, is that Argentina is "the only white country south of Canada" in the hemisphere.

Yet there are similarities among the Latin republics. There is, for example, the fact that they are all countries with an agricultural economy. Sixty per cent of their people are engaged in primitive agriculture in an effort to obtain enough food to carry themselves into tomorrow. These people do a poor job. They do not have enough to eat.

Moreover, we are talking of countries with a one-crop economy. Coffee earns 72 per cent of all the dollars gained by Guatemalan exports. This is true of coffee, to the same percentage, in El Salvador. The statistic is 77 per cent in Colombia, 58 per cent in Brazil, 51 per cent in Costa Rica, 63 per cent in Haiti. Bananas represent 51 per cent of the dollars earned by Honduran exports, 69 per cent of Panamanian exports, 57 per cent of Ecuadoran exports. One-fourth of the export dollars earned by Mexico and Peru comes from cotton. Obviously a more diversified as well as a more modern agriculture is needed.

These one-crop economies to a large degree explain why Latin America represents 7.9 per cent of the world population, but earns only 5 per cent of the world income.

Forged to the stale agricultural practices is a massive illiteracy. The illiteracy is more than 50 per cent in nine of the Latin republics (Brazil, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala—a shocking 89 per cent in Haiti—Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru) and it is more than 40 per cent in four other republics (Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Mexico). Far too often, as the reader may imagine, the illiteracy is found in the rural, or farming, communities.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." If democracy can be equated with civilization, it would seem that the revolution in the Latin countries

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is preordained to be kidnapped by a dictatorship of the left or of the right unless the enormous illiteracy is decreased greatly.

The burden of illiteracy in farming was revealed in a Brazilian experiment between two groups of farmers in the Mato Grosso. Both groups numbered more than one hundred. One group was illiterate; the farmers in the second group could read and write. Both groups were given the same farm implements, seed and advice. Both worked in the same soil and climate. The crops brought in by the literate farmers exceeded by almost three times the crops of the farmers who could neither read nor write. Time and again, the huge illiteracy is seen clearly as the largest contributor to the hunger in most Latin countries.

Earlier this year, some gentlemen who know something of the nature of the revolution sat around a long table in the ornate Washington building that accommodates the Organization of American States. These men discussed a plan to put education to work in a new way in the Latin countries. In general, the idea was to establish a bilingual faculty of scholars experienced in teaching students how to teach other persons to read and write. The bilingual faculty would instruct a class of men and women from Brazil, Mexico, the United States, Argentina and other hemispheric countries. The class then would compose itself into what is described nowadays as "a task force." The task force would proceed to a small country, El Salvador perhaps, where the illiteracy rate is more than 60 per cent. Operating from existing academic institutions in the small country, the task force would begin teaching the illiterate how to read and write. The task force also would teach its better pupils how to teach other of their countrymen.

Multiply the bilingual faculty and multiply the number of task forces, locate them in the various republics of Central and South America, and illiteracy might be driven out of the Americas in perhaps no more than one or two generations.

Extend the idea of putting education to work in a clinical sense to the areas of agriculture and public health. This could be the beginning of helping the people in Latin republics to equip themselves with the basic tools human beings need to build a modern and democratic society out of revolution.

The illiteracy and hunger, fodder for the revolution, compose a danger to a lazing democracy in the United States. It is not at all melodramatic to suggest that the illiteracy and hunger are a potential threat to our skins as well as to our democracy.

What can the United States do?

Probably the best proposal, in the fewest words, was sounded by Luis Muñoz Marín, Governor of Puerto Rico, and the most successful democratic reformer in the hemisphere today. In the first paragraph of a series of articles, written for the *Miami News* in the summer of 1960, Muñoz offered both a proposal and a warning: "We cannot wait until the first Latin American country has suffered a Communist revolution before launching a program to fill the hopes and imaginations of Latin Americans. Now is the time for a dynamic effort . . . something as imaginative as the Marshall Plan in Europe in 1947."

This would suggest that the Act of Bogota is not enough. On the cold sands of Punta del Este last August the Alliance for Progress was given the hopeful interpretation of being "a vast effort to bring a better life to all the people of the continent." It is too early to divine whether the expanding Alliance will evolve into "the dynamic effort" that Muñoz Marín believes vital.

There are many persons, especially young people, who are anxious to steer developments in Latin America toward genuine self-government. They are sophisticated people. One of them, a young man in Argentina, was commenting on the promise of communism to convert an underdeveloped country into a land of bread and honey. He remarked: "Communism promises us bread and honey only. The experience of the people in Hungary and Czechoslovakia promises my friends and me that we get no freedom with them." Others of

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like mind can be found in the trade unions, in the schools and universities, in the professions, often identifying themselves as "Christian Democrats" or something similar, but they have yet really to be organized into working political forces.

Whatever policies we adopt, there is danger if we put the accent on money and not on purpose. Dollars are not going to guide this revolution down the road to a democratic tomorrow. It is going to require men and women with purpose, a new use of education in a large and practical way, more understanding by the people in our own country of the 200,000,000 humans who have lived in a historic poverty in most of the Latin countries. And it is going to take dollars. Yet it is necessary to make the distinction that people with purpose, a new sense of applying education, with dollars to finance the adventure, are what is needed—and not Dollars, with people and purpose and a new sense of education.

In Mexico you can hear a *broma* about how to kill a shark in the swimming pool. It is said a Latin is disposed to join his hands firmly around the handle of a machete, vault into the pool and flail at the shark with his native broadsword. A Gringo is different. A Gringo is likely to fetch a small cup, recline at the edge of the swimming pool and inaugurate a slow but determined motion of draining the water from the pool, one cup at a time.

The cream of this jest is a little sour to the Gringo who knows something of the revolution. There is too much nagging truth in the Mexican joke. Measured in numbers of people with purpose, or in dollars, a "cup" simply won't do the job. And neither will it get rid of the shark.

Coming in Winter . . .

PERRY MILLER

on

The Responsibility of Mind
in a Civilization of Machines

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If You Don't Mind My Saying So . . . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

For obvious reasons there are probably more pacifists in the Western world today than there ever were before, but they are still divided into three familiar classes. Some are mystics, some call themselves rationally prudent, and some are merely muddled. I have often wished I could join one group or the other, and today it surely behooves every man to consider again the pacifist positions. But, although I have tried honestly to do so, I am still uncommitted.

The muddled are certainly the most numerous class, and they are exasperatingly noncommittal concerning what is to me a crucial question: Just what consequences do they expect to follow if one of the great powers—our own nation, for example—should accept their policy? Do they believe that the astonished aggressors would simply cease aggression, or that it is better to be a victim sure of his own righteousness than to win or lose in defense of one's life and one's place in the world? Is pacifism a wise, worldly policy or a saintly surrender?

To clarify that question, I go back to two of the hardest of many sayings in what Thoreau called an old book—the two, I mean, about turning the other cheek and about giving your cloak also. As injunctions they are unequivocal. That they should have been somehow explained away by the vast majority of those who profess to believe the Bible an absolute authority is almost enough to make one dismiss the human mind as a mere device for believing what one wants to believe. But, clear as these two injunctions are, they are also injunctions only. Like all but one of the ten commandments, they give not even the hint of a promise concerning the consequences so far, at least, as this life is concerned. You may infer either that the turned cheek will not be smitten, or that it is better to receive a blow on both than to resist or strike back.

Since primitive Christianity seems to have been primarily an other-worldly religion, I incline to the opinion that the second interpretation is the right one. But, just as most of those who profess to accept the authority of the New Testament have preferred to explain away the whole injunction, so most of those who have felt compelled to accept it urge it upon an easier ground. If you turn the other cheek, they seem to think, you will be rewarded, not with martyrdom, but with peace, prosperity and a high standard of living.

Even Justice William O. Douglas, for whom it is impossible not to feel great respect in general, seems to take this position. In a recent book, *My Wilderness: The Pacific West,* he turns aside from an account of happy experiences in Alaska to comment on the fact that when two wolves threaten one another the less aggressive often turns his cheek. "This is not a signal to the other one to move in for the kill. The wolf who turns his cheek asks for a truce, and though the snarling continues, the truce is always granted. Turning the other cheek, the wolf teaches us, is not abject surrender but an honorable way to prevent a fight and save the species. As Lorenz wrote in 'King Solomon's Ring,' a wolf has enlightened me: not so that your enemy may strike you again do you turn the other cheek toward him, but to make him unable to do it."

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As what is sometimes contemptuously called a nature lover, and as one who believes we should not only learn *about* her but also learn *from* her, it might be assumed that I would find this convincing. But are all men in every respect as admirable as a wolf? I am not sure that they are. Does anyone believe that Hitler would have been unable to strike a turned cheek? Or that Khrushchev would be? Nonresistance may have triumphed in India, but that was because the English, whatever their crimes, were not completely ruthless. Did it work for the Jews in Germany?

The contention that only resistance creates aggression seems to me as empty as the analogous argument of the old-fashioned "Philosophical Anarchist" who maintained that only law created crime. Those who contend that nonresistance will actually work should be willing, I think, to demonstrate first that it will work in a single society before they propose extending it to international relations. How many of them if a man steal their coat will refuse to call in the police and, like the priest in *Les Misérables,* pursue him in order to present their cloak also? How many would refuse to ask the protection of the law if threatened by an assassin?

Ask such questions and there is usually a shifting of the ground. "Oh, we really aren't anarchists, Christian or otherwise. We believe in the reign of law. We assume a world government and a police force under its control. Policemen don't have to turn the other cheek, and it is only private appeals to force by individuals or individual sovereignties to which we object. Doesn't the history of the United States show how federation is possible, and could not war be outlawed between nations as effectively as it has been outlawed between our states?" But the appeal to our history is dangerous to their argument. One of the things that the experiment led to was the Civil War. We are told (truly enough, I'm afraid) that a third World War would be a catastrophe beside which the first would seem insignificant. But if you really insist upon the historical analogy with the United States of America, then a United States of the World would have to be confirmed on the most terrible of battlefields.

If the muddled still make up the largest group, the most rapidly growing is that for which Lord Russell has made himself spokesman. They do at least face squarely the necessity for a clear choice, and they rely little if at all upon any appeal to abstract righteousness. Prudence rather than virtue is the ground of their argument. Should it, they say, come down to nothing better than a choice of evils, then prudence requires that we should choose the lesser. The triumph of communism, so Lord Russell said recently, would make the human race very miserable, perhaps for a very long time. But it would at least continue to exist and have in some distant era the chance of a new happiness. But armed resistance on any grand scale would extinguish it forever. If, as one of his supporters has added, there are those who prefer death to slavery they could kill themselves when the invasion comes while those who would like to choose the other alternative would be powerless to do so if a policy of resistance were followed.

It is all very well to ridicule the rhetoric of Patrick Henry. But one wonders if those who do so would be willing to face the either/or and to accept as their own motto, "It is better to be a living dog than a dead lion," or "Who hath honor? He who died 'a Wednesday."

Actually, so it seems to me, they missed the real point which becomes plain enough if you go back to Patrick. When we say "give me liberty or give me death," we are not usually standing as he was on a gallows, and we are not usually taking it for granted that the choice is certain to present itself. We say it because we believe that the best way to get liberty is to be willing to face death. Many of those who approved of what Patrick Henry said might very well, had the situation become hopeless, have preferred slavery to death. But had they said so at the moment, they might well have lost both. Surely our own situation is much the same. Even if Lord Russell is right that slavery is better than extinc-

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tion, the fact remains that we have a far better chance of saving both life and liberty if we have the nerve to go to Patrick rather than Bertrand for our motto. Proclaim that you would rather lose liberty than life, and you are far more likely to lose the first and not improbably the second also.

From the standpoint of worldly wisdom, the English neutralists may be right so far as their own situation is concerned. It is indeed much what the situation of Ireland was during the Second World War. Participation would not have affected the outcome; England was compelled to give them all the protection that could be given; and they were exempt from direct attack. England today gets the advantage of whatever deterrent effect American arms may have, and so far as she is concerned to be unarmed would be perhaps safest. But we are either the first or the second great power (which may be unfortunate for us) and no one is capable of protecting us. England escapes the necessity of an either/or but we cannot; we must either assert our power or renounce it completely. To say, "I am not a consistent pacifist, but we should refuse to participate in an arms race" is to fall between two stools. To be inadequately armed is certainly (and from a purely prudential standpoint) worse than not to be armed at all—unless, as in the case of the weaker nations, someone else is strong enough to give the protection they cannot give themselves.

Thus I come back to my original contention that the only sound premise upon which pacifism can be defended is that taken by at least some Quakers and by the others who accept literally and without reservation the injunction, "resist not evil." This is something very different from and much more admirable than "better a living dog than a dead lion." It is somewhat different also from the Christian Anarchy sometimes expounded in, for instance, the *Catholic Worker,* which is, if I understand it right, the doctrine that since a community of saints could live without law and without property, such a community would spontaneously arise were law and property abolished. The purest pacifism is compatible with the belief that anarchy soon leads (as I believe it does) not to the community of saints but to the rule of the gangsters. It comes down ultimately to the belief that righteousness is more to be valued than security, prosperity, social order and even life itself. All the more popular sorts of pacifism seek worldly ends by unworldly means. And that works no better than the policy of most organized Christianity which too often has been to rely upon the worldly as a means of achieving unworldly ends.

I am not by nature combative or even very competitive. I would make a very poor soldier, and I am not sure I would not be a cowardly one. I might even run away. But if I ever become a sincere pacifist, it will be not because I think it would save my skin (I do not think it would) but because I was convinced, as I believe the only logical pacifists are, that to be individually righteous is the first of all duties, come what may to one's self, to one's country, to society and to civilization itself.

I am already half (or perhaps one-quarter would be more accurate) convinced that this is true. Why then do I reluctantly conclude, when all that can be said about the horrors of war, the insane folly of atomic weapons, and the very real threat of a horror such as the world has never known before has been said and proved, that I still side not with the pacifists but with those who say, "Let us, of course, explore every possibility for mutual (but not unilateral) disarmament and mutual (but not unilateral) guarantees against aggression. But until such desirable ends have been attained, let us recognize the fact that we must continue in the nearly but not quite insane race for arms." The answer to that "why" is, I suppose, partly that I am only one-half or one-quarter convinced that the highest and most desirable wisdom consists in not being wise at all in any worldly sense; that, to put it as directly as possible, the world is not worth having at the price one must sometimes pay to have it. The other part of the answer, if indeed it is not the same

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one, is simply that I am not saint enough actually to renounce a world that I may at some moments believe not worth having but which I have found at other more numerous moments something I would hate to give up. Thus perhaps I also, like the muddled pacifists I scorned, fall between two stools and may end as the most unhappy of victims, the martyr who finds little consolation in martyrdom.

Many years ago an astrologer cast my horoscope and predicted that I would live to a ripe old age but "die a public and spectacular death." I have often wondered what that might portend—the barricades, or perhaps a public execution? But surely no death could be more spectacular than that in the explosion of a hydrogen bomb.

That this is indeed to be my fate seems to have been made more probable by the fact that Tucson, Arizona, where I live, has been selected by the military authorities as one of the expendable cities to be ringed by Titan missile bases, and that these same authorities are frank to admit not only that it might well be wiped out by a direct hit, but also that due to the prevailing winds the fallout from even a near miss would blanket the city. We have been advised to build individual shelters and to stock them with food for several days, after which, we are told, it might be safe to emerge—assuming, of course, that a direct hit had not been scored. Until it is explained to me what I would want to come out either to or for, I plan no shelter. And I have been much interested in the attitude taken by the citizens when it was first announced that we had, as I put it before, been declared expendable.

There was to be sure a small minority protest from those who asked why the missile bases should not be placed away from the city rather than directly surrounding it. The reply from the authorities was that it would be too difficult and too expensive to construct them very far from the facilities that a city affords. This seemed a surprising statement to those who had supposed that the ultimate purpose of "defense" was not to save money, but to save lives. However, the argument apparently satisfied most Tucsonians and the protest got nowhere. On the other hand, the majority of the citizens and at least one of the newspapers rejoiced that our community was to be favored by a large construction project, and it warned the minority that unless they dropped their protest the army might decide in a huff to take its plans to some more cordial community. So far as I am aware, the plea for patriotism was never raised. No one said that we must be good soldiers, that some cities had to be expendable and that if the choice fell upon us we must accept our fate. The talk was all of the money the bases would bring and the number, first of construction workers and then of military personnel, who would be added to our population. I have the consolation of believing that if my reasons for not being a pacifist are not entirely noble, they are at least not as ignoble as Tucson's reasons for welcoming a direct invitation to atomic attack.

One radio commentator did suggest that what we had won by our cordial welcome to the military authorities might best be described as "a disaster with fringe benefits." That sometimes seems to me a very good estimate of many technological triumphs. There is scarcely one of them—not even television—which does not afford at least fringe benefits. Many have made life easier and easier—temporarily at least. But what if they should end by making it not easier but impossible?

When cavemen were hitting one another over the head with stone clubs, it was not necessary to be either a pacifist or a glorifier of war. One could simply muddle through. We continued to do so as the bow, the cannon, the airplane and the T.N.T. bomb came along one after another. But the time may have come when one must decide either to die as a saint or to survive as a gangster. And that leaves in a very awkward position those who, like me, do not want to be the second yet feel themselves not quite up to being the first.

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An Unprofessional Eye

TV Trials

BENJAMIN DEMOTT

Can mass culture be "improved"? Buy us some prime time and find out, came the answer this summer from New York's TV artists. Lock out the sponsors and the admen and the network veeps and the talent monopolists, fire the chubby-chested ingenues and the socking cops—we'll guarantee improvements. We'll do more than that, in fact, once conditions are right. We'll make a revolution, we'll Take Off, we'll do all that high culture ever hoped to do, we'll *clobber* the airwaves with beauty and truth: if only you'll give us the chance. . . .

The occasion of this plea and pledge was an inquiry conducted at a courthouse in lower Manhattan by the Federal Communications Commission's Office of Network Study. The declared purpose of the inquiry was to complete a description of the working conditions of people engaged in creating "programs for network television exhibition"; the officer of interrogation was a handsome, large-voiced, knowledgeable government lawyer named Ashbrook P. Bryant. Present to answer questions were more than a score of famous playwrights, producers and performers. Present to listen and profit were the FCC's Chief Hearing Examiner and the head of its Broadcast Bureau; two TV camera crews; dozens of reporters and photographers; radio technicians from WNYC (a New York radio station that broadcast the hearings); minor executives from NBC, CBS and ABC sent by their superiors to make quickie telephone reports on proceedings; and, among other private citizens, a clutch of aluminum-haired, purple-lipped teenagers whose straw sacks were filled with Chiclets and giggles, and whose Star-haunted eyes glistened (at the entrances of heroes) with sweet secret passion and shame.

That the heroes' confident vigor impressed others beside the youngsters was apparent almost from the start. The radio audience of the hearings expanded each day during the first week of testimony. Several city dailies, tickled by TV agony, ran the artists' complaints in streamers (BLAMES TV ADS FOR DRAMA DEATH; BLAST RATINGS, SPONSORS, ADMEN). Network executives, worried by the surprising impact of the artists' remarks, were ready with counter-statements every afternoon. One lady columnist for the *Herald Tribune,* outraged by abuse of networks and sponsors, wrote: "The parade of industry carpers at the FCC hearing into programming practices reminds us of those action shows in which two hoodlums hold a victim by the arms while a third punches away. Both rub our sense of fair play!" But her protest was nearly lost in the general metropolitan exhilaration that at last TV was being excoriated at length—in an official public record.

The stories collected in this record had more in common with "action shows" than the *Tribune*'s correspondent specified in her report. Repeatedly they detailed the doings of a trio of hoodlums—an adman, a network vice president and a sponsor's representative—two of whom held some artist-victim by the arms while the third punched away, *his* sense of fair play unrubbed. The men who told the stories were drawing on memory, though, not on fancy. David Davidson, a TV playright and National

✪ THIS COLUMN is the third of Benjamin DeMott's reports for the SCHOLAR.

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Chairman of the Writers Guild of America, recalled an occasion when the sponsor of the Philco Playhouse, alarmed by protests of its retailers against "highbrow" scripts, laid it down that henceforth all plays were to be "tailored to the dealers." Tad Mosel, a Pulitzer prize-winning playwright, complained, "I write very quiet plays . . . not blockbusters. Sponsors are always afraid I'll lose the audience in the first five minutes. . . . They never seem to worry about [entertaining] an audience, only about capturing it." The producer David Susskind held forth for almost four hours on such obstacles to art as the incompetence of sponsors at drama criticism (his targets here included one "Dreamy Dean," an engineer said to function as literary watchdog for DuPont), the networks' senseless idolatry of Stars (You have a show today, Susskind claimed, "if you get Marilyn Monroe and the phone directory—") and the vulgar timidities of admen (a proposed TV adaptation of *The Moon and Sixpence* drew the following objections from advertising agencies: "Artists are kooks. . . . You can't have a guy die of leprosy. Let him have cancer or heart trouble. . . . We can't put a commercial on after a guy dies."). And the testimony of a dozen other witnesses added great gobbets of similar matter to the record.

The credibility of this testimony did not, of course, depend solely upon the reputations of those who gave it. The idea that advertising agencies that train up copywriters in a school of putrid lies and exploitation could turn about and produce patient, honest advisers to dramatists was, on the face of it, laughable. And not for some time has there been much evidence that the broadcasting industry, even at its summit, is deeply moved by the claims of art and truth. Many charges against the industry are vague or, in the opinion of some observers, overcerebral—as for example the charge that the networks hypostatize the American character, by acting on a view of the country as composed of divisible nations of "eggheads" and "ordinary viewers," and by speaking constantly of the "known wants" of these separate audiences, as though tastes in entertainment are inborn rather than created. But the simpler charge, namely that the highest executives in the field betray more enthusiasm for sly slogans and evasions than for common standards of truth, is neither trivial nor difficult to support. In statements of TV moguls the phrase "public interest" invariably undergoes a sleazy change in meaning. ". . . I suggest," said the President of CBS testifying before the FCC a year ago, "that a program in which a large part of the audience is interested is by that very fact a program in the public interest." And as recently as two months ago the Chairman of the Board of NBC, Robert Sarnoff, demonstrated comparable powers of concealment—in an article for the *Saturday Evening Post* called "What Do You Want From TV?" (July 1, 1961). Giving no inkling of the truth that the individual station licensee, who bears total responsibility for balanced programming in the public interest, is at the moment commercially dependent upon the networks and virtually incapable of influencing their policies, Mr. Sarnoff said blandly: "Permit me to clarify one point. A network is not under any legal compulsion to meet FCC requirements for a balanced program."

That a genuinely balanced—or entirely praiseworthy—program could be created by the artists who were testifying was, to be sure, uncertain. "Show business folk" to the marrow, obviously professionals, they bore down upon their audience in the display uniform of Sardi's—high-rise shirt collars and short-cut coat sleeves and jet-linked cuffs, side-slitted jackets and cruelly pointed shoes. Their tones and expressions were slightly removed from the plane of ordinary life, edging always toward the superreality of a Scene. Few among them were crippled by awe of the great literary achievements of the past. ("I proposed the package to Jack," said a "quality producer" named Mildred Alberg, speaking of a new production of *Hamlet*. "Aristophanes," said Mr. Gore Vidal, "wrote just like Mort Sahl talks.") None hesitated to talk tough about money. (Mr. Davidson, answering a question about his present writing chores for TV, remarked: "I've been hiding out under another

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name" in daytime TV, and added: "The money's lovely. You can make a thousand a week by lunchtime writing for daytime." Mr. Reuben Aurthur pointed out happily: "I got the highest fee ever paid to a TV writer for Philco—$3001. I wanted that extra buck because I wanted to be the highest paid writer.") And all were not only worshipful of that law of their trade that defines boring people as the one criminal offense, but eager to convert the FCC counsel—through their own efforts and those of their allies—to the faith. Mr. Jack Gould, television critic of the *New York Times,* suggested without irony in his column that "to minimize the inevitable tedium of some of the testimony possibly Mr. Bryant will wish to ask his questions a little more briskly." Mr. Georgie Jessel declared pointedly during his testimony, "I hope I'm not boring the court or the press."[1] Mr. Aurthur, asked by counsel whether he had heard the testimony of Mr. Vidal, replied: "Yes. And he's a very hard act to follow." And others attempted by hints and indirections to stimulate an awareness of the theatrical possibilities of the hour that would be at least comparable to their own.

But neither this awareness nor the possession of a pair of Italian shoes quite sufficed to establish the artists as creators in the highest sense, frustrated redeemers of the medium. Mr. Mosel, one of the more talented writers who appeared, let fall gently that the plays produced by the TV dramatists (in the years before they lost their freedom) were perhaps not permanent contributions to literary art. Shows spoken of as "paid off and killed by the [advertising] agency" seemed, in the writers' description, at best mediocre. (Mr. Davidson was angry at the rejection of a work of his that he described as "a classy, sociological-interest study of the Valentine's Day Massacre." Mr. Ernest Kinoy, another playwright, was disturbed that he could find no taker for a play of his about a husband and wife who announce on their diamond anniversary—as they are being feted by foolish folk whose respect for such anniversaries qualifies them in the playwright's mind to be the butts of satire—that "they want to get a divorce.") And proposals for future, more enlightened projects were at best vague.

To conclude from this, though, that the weeks of hearings amounted to a failure, and that talk of "improving mass culture" remained as airy and meaningless as before, would be a mistake. From the point of view of the Office of Network Study, questions about the artists' true capacities were irrelevant. The key goal of the inquiry, one that the artists' testimony put within easy reach, was the completion of a public record documenting both the fact and the nature of the influence exerted upon programing by admen, networks and sponsors. The value of that record is that it gives solid substance to the charge that the present mode of operation of the broadcasting industry is out of keeping with the provisions and spirit of all major federal statutes pertaining to the field.

[1] Mr. Jessel seemed to have prepared most of his testimony—as though it were simply another vaudeville turn. Nor was it a less than winning turn, although it began slowly. The comedian's voice quavered as he asserted, "Somewhere there's something amiss," strengthened only a little as he spoke from the patriot's refuge ("I am happy for this opportunity to speak my mind because I love my country. . . . There must be a love of country and a love of entertainment. . . . Our prestige is waning all over the world. We gotta get it back. . . . I hope I'm not boring the court or the press."). But shortly thereafter he began to find himself. He went into the history of his relations with "some dear friends of mine, Burns and Allen, a wonderful warm clean pair. . . . I was godfather to 'em, I booked 'em into the Palace. . . ." He told of his travels. "I'm on planes every day. I been on 180 planes in the last 200 days. And every day you see these kids—" Here he rose and, with his bediamonded hands ablaze in the glare of the TV lights, fired off invisible pistols at counsel. He broke up the audience with the following snippet: "My mother used to sing, 'Every morning I bring thee violets.' Now, 'Every morning I bring thee violence.' [Laughter, applause.] I was prepared with that. I wrote it last night." And he went on with the show afterward in the courthouse hall, where he was interviewed, before an ABC television camera, by a lady named Lisa who was clad in quantities of auburn hair and a small orange frock. A sound man asked him to speak and he obliged with these words: "I am glad to get out of court and I want to go to a saloon"; a moment later he was again delivering himself on the question, "Do you think TV has a duty to uplift the cultural level?" He signed off by hugging his interviewer and reaffirming: "I shall be very glad to serve my country."

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These statutes spell out two main principles. The first is not that agencies and networks should be (relatively) good but that they should be (relatively) powerless. ("The selection, supervision and control of all broadcast matter," the FCC reaffirmed in 1960, "should remain the undivided and unshared responsibility of station licensees in local communities. Any responsibility . . . placed on networks should not substitute for but should serve and implement the basic duty of licensees as 'trustees' to provide broadcasting service in the public interest.") The second, which rests directly upon the philosophy of the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934, is that although a licensed broadcaster is permitted to operate a station as a commercial venture, his "commercial right must be subordinated to his paramount obligation to act for the community and must be incidental to his trusteeship." The first official interpretation of law in this field, delivered in 1928, states in part:

> While it is true that broadcasting stations in this country are for the most part supported or partially supported by advertisers, broadcasting stations are not given these great privileges by the United States Government for the primary benefit of advertisers. Such benefit as is derived by advertisers must be incidental and entirely secondary to the interest of the public. . . . Where the station is used for the broadcasting of a considerable amount of what is called 'direct advertising' . . . the advertising is usually offensive to the listening public. [*It*] *should be only incidental to some real service rendered to the public, and not the main object of a program.* . . . [FCC emphasis]

The testimony taken in New York had obvious bearings on both principles. It disclosed on the one hand that the networks and agencies at the moment, far from being powerless, in fact exercise almost complete control of "all broadcast matter." And on the other it demonstrated with overwhelming force that a central assumption of everyone actively engaged in the industry—artists, agency men, network executives and others—is that the primary function of the TV program as a whole (not merely of the "commercial") is to sell goods. The importance of the latter point cannot be shrugged away with the remark that, after all, no one ever did claim that noncommercial considerations figured largely in the decisions of corporations to sponsor programs. For the focus here is not upon corporate motives, but upon those of broadcasters and artists. The extraordinary aspect of the New York testimony was the frequency with which writers, directors and others involved in the creation of so-called serious TV programs revealed that they themselves see their efforts as adjuncts to sales campaigns. " 'Studio One,' " said the producer of that program, Mr. Worthington Miner, "did a fantastic job in selling equipment. . . . When a family gets together to buy a stove or a deep freeze or a pair of Laundromat twins, they remember Westinghouse. . . . 'I Love Lucy' wasn't selling Philip Morris the way Westinghouse 'Studio One' was selling Westinghouse equipment." And, as the testimony cited earlier suggests, the record was filled with similar protestations.

On a superficial view the act of documenting discrepancies between broadcasting law and broadcasting practices has nothing in common with the act of "improving mass culture." But that view can only be maintained if mass culture is regarded simply as a collection of crime and violence shows and pop tunes—something to be "elevated" by "serious artists" released from "commercial pressures." And this version of the phenomenon is by no means adequate to the facts. Mass culture demands to be understood first of all as a disposition of mind and feeling, a publicly diffused habit of valuing, a loosely related series of half-expressed, half-inexpressible popular ideals and myths. In the words of Richard Wollheim, an English intellectual whose recent Fabian Society pamphlet, *Socialism and Culture,* has been much discussed since its appearance last May, mass culture can be regarded as "*par excellence* the practical philosophy of a society that is committed to the belief that happiness can be found only in the personal consumption of personal objects." And it follows from this assertion

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that attempts at "improvement" must begin with an effort to complicate the "practical philosophy," to set up a dialectic in which alternative commitments, ideals or myths can make themselves felt in the public consciousness.

As it happens, there is good reason to believe that success in familiarizing the public and the broadcasting profession with the original theory of American broadcasting law—a theory built up on the assumption that commercial motives if unchecked can pollute the public air irremediably—could itself be a potent agent of complication.[1] For one thing it would recall to consciousness a period of this country's history when buying and selling were not thought of as the only holy activities of man. And the period in question is not open to easy political attack as a time of "statism." The broadcasting statutes were framed by a business government in the age of Business, Unlimited: the late 1920's, a moment now looked back upon nostalgically by some as a sort of shrine of lost *laissez faire*. Criticizing them in the tired name of "free enterprise" or in the respected name, say, of Herbert Hoover would be impossible. Indeed it was Mr. Hoover himself who, supporting the original philosophy of the law in this field, declared as Secretary of Commerce that the Government is entitled to compel an applicant for a broadcasting license "to prove there is something more than naked commercial selfishness in his purpose." News of his use of the phrase "naked commercial selfishness" in this context might well do something in itself to complicate present attitudes about "programing practices."

A further reason for cautious optimism about effort of this kind stems directly from the nature of the relation between TV, mass culture and the "practical philosophy of a society"—a relation best described as one of mutual interaction. It is hardly supersubtle to observe that the influence of mass media upon public philosophy is probably equal to that of public philosophy on mass media. And it is far from coincidental that a nation scarred by "private luxury, public squalor" has as its chief source of information (and of models of behavior) an instrument that subordinates all ideals to that of the Private Consumer. The argument that the ideal of the Private Consumer would be only one among many ideals competing for favor, if the original directives of American law had been observed during the last three decades, may not win instant assent. Fancy alone can be certain that broadcasters who "acted for the community" in that period might have helped to preserve (in the public imagination) some responsiveness to the tone implicit in Mr. Hoover's phrase, some remnants of the older superstition that salesmen are nuisances, that merchants are simply men who buy cheap and sell dear, that peace, beauty, beatitude, security, friendship and love are not for sale at any market. But it is not fanciful to believe that an alteration of the place and prominence, in the broadcasting day, of the ideal of the good life as the consuming life might bring into clear view alternatives to the notion that the end of human existence is to col-

[1] The claim that all interested parties already know the law cannot be supported. FCC records are checkered with statements whose tone indicates unfeigned ignorance, among network and advertising officials, that United States statutes anticipated the use of whole broadcasting programs as integral parts of sales campaigns, and ruled against it. A year ago, for example, the Commission heard testimony suggesting that agencies and networks alike were unaware of the law specifying that neither shall have responsibility for programing. One advertising executive remarked: "I believe that [responsibility] should stay pretty much the way it is, which gives a majority of the responsibility to the networks, but also gives a certain responsibility and a certain power to the advertising agencies and through them the independent producers and sponsors." And during the same inquiry another executive—a vice president of the Association of National Advertisers—declared huffily that if advertisers "were denied the right [*sic*] to participate in the selection of program material . . . they would feel impelled to withdraw, or drastically reduce, their television commitments." As for the directives specifying that advertising must not be the "main object of the program": the likelihood is strong that the majority of educated Americans are themselves inclined to the opinion that this rule is a feature only of "the British system of broadcasting."

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lect purple lipstick.[1] And, to repeat, such an alteration would constitute simply an acknowledgment of the philosophy of the relevant law of the land.

The task of securing materials that can be used to obtain that acknowledgment is gritty and inelegant, as the TV hearings put beyond doubt. Those who undertake it are scoffed at on one side by mandarins, on the other by fire-eating liberals. The mandarin turns away sniffishly in the belief that "culture" can never be improved by government action, and that in any case improvement would only mean a thousand hours of soporific TV lectures on the American heritage, or the multiplication of pretentious disclosures of "the real truth" about leprosy or gang wars or couples who have hated each other for a full fifty years. The fire-eating liberal turns away furiously, claiming that the FCC ought simply to use its power to revoke the licenses of individual broadcasters whose programing is unbalanced; he considers it immaterial that control of programing now rests not with individual broadcasters but with networks, whose practices the FCC is still without direct power to regulate.

But neither line of criticism alters the truth that the unbrisk, untheatrical Office of Network Study is working in perhaps the only area of government intervention from which genuinely significant improvements in the quality of American life can come. Until Congress grants the FCC's request for power to regulate the practices of networks, this unit of the Commission will continue to operate within strict limits: it will not be able to transform Jessel into Proust, or to clobber the nation, on its own, with beauty and truth. But owing to peculiar passages of the American past—passages in which Herbert Hoover in his fifties can be seen standing a shade to the left of Newton Minow in his thirties—it is not altogether weaponless. That the record it completed in New York can be used to trouble the minds of the mind-makers is at the moment one of the few unextravagant hopes that we have.

[1] For one example of the kinds of alteration that are possible, consider the use of commercial announcements in simple newscasts. On hundreds of stations (WTIC of Hartford, Connecticut, is one of them) the common practice is to seat the reader of news bulletins at a desk behind which stands a screen used for the showing of stills and live footage. In theory commercial announcements are set off from the reading of the news and from the showing of film. In fact, however, the desk or some other appurtenance of the whole set invariably bears a commercial announcement that is visible to the viewer throughout the entire program. Photographs of a state or national Capitol, or of a Senator or even of the President himself, appear just above or below a commercial trademark ("STOP AND SHOP"); the audience listens to the news as it reads the sales message. This and a thousand comparable practices are violations of present broadcasting law.

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A Note on Intellect and Power

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Loren Baritz's book, *The Servants of Power*,[1] is a history of the use of social science in American industry, but also an inquiry into the problems of *expertise* and the place of intellect in our society. I should like to review briefly Mr. Baritz's conclusions about the role of psychology and industrial sociology in the service of American enterprise, and then to take his view of the significance of his findings as the point of departure for a different estimate of the issues. I am more interested (as I believe the author ultimately is) in the situation of intellectuals who, as experts, come into an active relation with power, than I am in the rather special and melancholy case of industrial sociology. The moment seems propitious for a few words on the subject: yesterday intellectuals were being scrutinized by Congressmen and vigilantes for signs of heresy or even treason; today the government swarms with Harvard professors and ex-Rhodes scholars; tomorrow, no doubt, the intellectuals and experts will be held strictly accountable for what they have done, as well as a hundred things they have not done. Giving advice to government and to private industry are, of course, different undertakings, but they both involve coming to terms with power and conducting inquiries whose terms and motives are set by others.

Mr. Baritz's findings are not flattering to the experts. In the main, his book is a useful critical account of the relatively recent rise of social science as a force in American industry. Before our entry into World War I a few people had toyed with the idea that selective tests administered to employees might be useful to employers, but the story began seriously with World War I intelligence testing. The war brought psychologists into the testing business on a large scale, as tests were administered to more than 1,700,000 men with the single aim of assisting classification by assessing their level of intelligence. After the war there was a period of credulity about the efficacy and value of such testing, which had important effects on both education and industry. The war had also focused some attention on the problems of management, and men like Walter Dill Scott and James McKeen Cattell founded psychological corporations to advise business. Such early researchers were trying mainly to find ways of measuring specific abilities for jobs. There were many false steps, there was some quackery, there were few results.

This was the state of affairs in the mid-twenties when a famous experiment began at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. To simplify a rather complicated story that involved several sequences of experimentation running over a number of years and costing well over a million dollars, the Hawthorne research started as an inquiry into the effects of

[1] *Wesleyan University Press*, 1960, $4.50.

✪ RICHARD HOFSTADTER, De Witt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in History in 1956 for his book, *The Age of Reform*. His most recent books are *The United States* and *Great Issues in American History*. He is now at work on a study of anti-intellectualism in American life. Mr. Hofstadter is a member of the SCHOLAR's Editorial Board.

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illumination on workers' efficiency and ended in the creation of a whole school of industrial sociology. The experimenters were originally puzzled by the fact that productivity kept increasing no matter what was done about lighting, and that it increased not only in the experimental group of workers but also in the control group whose lighting was unvaried. The answer was eventually found in the circumstance that the girls in both groups were responding not to the illumination, but to the experiment itself. The experiment had made them a focus of attention, forged them into groups, raised their morale, and caused the individual worker to respond to group *élan* and group pressure. Elton Mayo, who joined the experimenters after the first phase had been completed, became the major "theorist" of the new movement in industrial sociology, which put its emphasis upon social organization and the intangibles of morale. This development made obsolete the previous concern with testing for individual capacities and turned the attention of employers and their advisers toward the morale of groups. Testing was now overshadowed by industrial counseling.

Researchers began to realize that tact and the capacity to listen went a long way in fostering workers' morale. Here began the practice of nondirective interviewing, in which a counselor simply listened to an employee talk about his problems. Talk seemed to lead to an improvement in feeling, and this suggested that if the worker's mind could be thus affected directly, little need be done to change the conditions of the job itself. At little cost the edge could be taken off the worker's grievances. In 1936 Western Electric began a counseling program that at one time employed as many as sixty-four full-time counselors in five plants.

Mayo and his school, being fascinated by the irrationality of the worker, tended to look upon employee grievances as products of this irrationality and not as responses to the worker's objective situation. Industrial unrest, Mayo said, "has its source in obsessive preoccupation." "There is a real identity between labor unrest and nervous breakdown." Rational employers, working under the guidance of social scientists, could manipulate the psyche of the irrational worker, blunt or drain off his grievances, improve his efficiency, and render him immune to the appeal of union organizers. Mayo hoped that in some way a group life created under factory conditions might be able to restore some of the sense of belonging and loyalty that he believed had flourished in the agrarian community. In its later phases the social science movement in industry experimented with aptitude tests as a substitute for seniority. Some advisers devised tests by which they hoped to identify in advance workers who would be most likely to submit cheerfully to the monotonous conditions of factory life and least likely to join a union.

Mr. Baritz has little difficulty in showing that, whatever items of pure knowledge about human behavior have come out of industrial sociology, its representatives have often shared wholeheartedly the norms of business managers, have encouraged managerial complacency about the industrial process, and have developed a simplistic antiunion ideology. Business executives, said one of the Hawthorne researchers in 1936, in whose ranks were "many of the very best brains of the country," might be able to adapt the organism of business in such a way as to cause the unions to lose their members, because workers would "find in the direct collaboration within the factory all they need in the way of personal self-expression and of adequate consideration." Another psychologist concluded that the union, being authoritarian, tells the worker what to do, relieves him of the necessity of thinking, releases him to "commit aggressions which his conscience would ordinarily hold in check," and gives license to "brutal and anti-social behavior." As the author argues, such ex parte balderdash is not the language of independent "social science" but that of hired technicians—mere servants of power.

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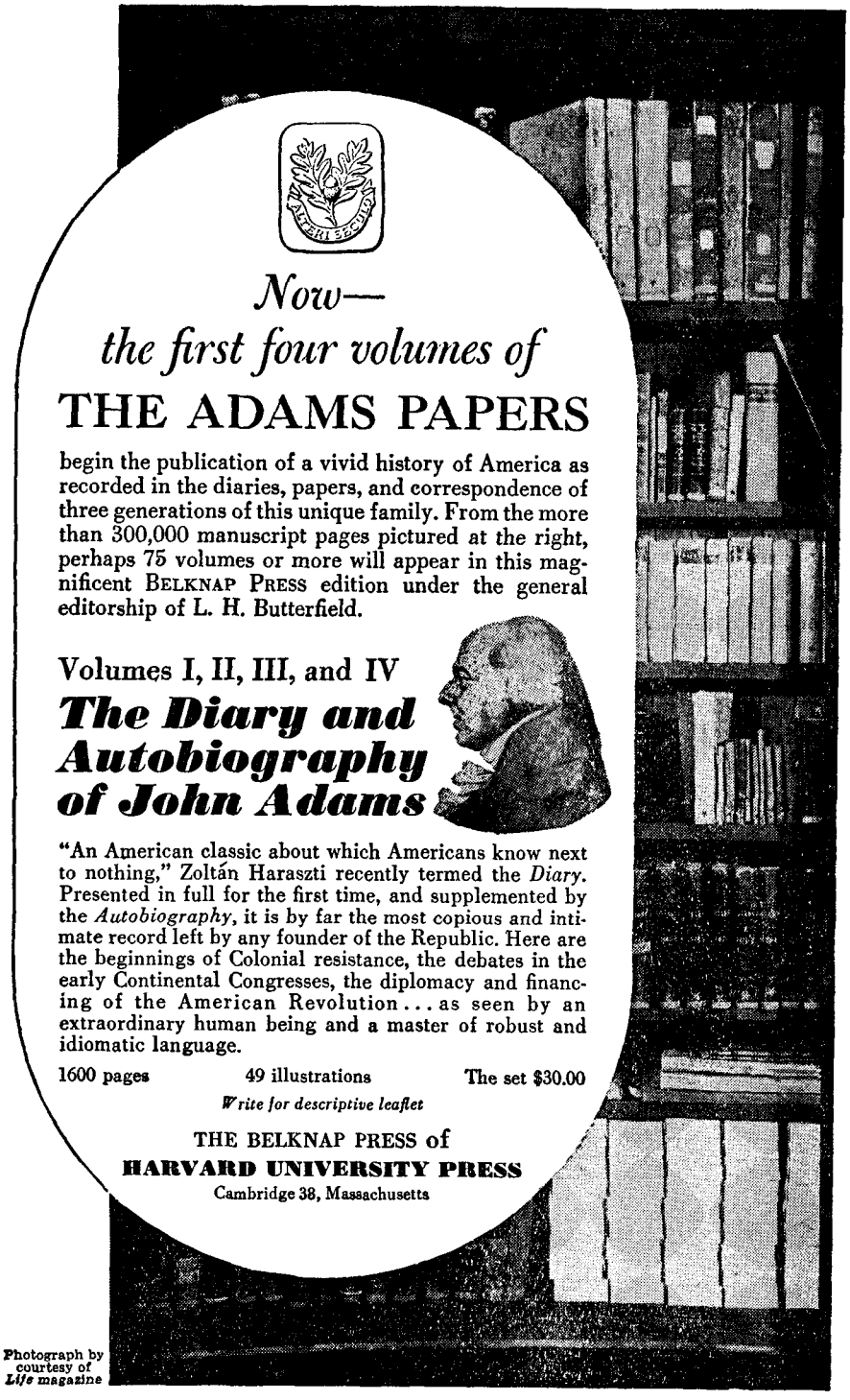

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Mr. Baritz also finds in all this truly horrendous implications:

> Personnel counseling in general, using the tested techniques of the Catholic confessional and the psychiatric couch, has frequently resulted in labor losing control of the nature and conditions of work. . . . the potency of labor organization has been weakened and made less meaningful; . . . management has finally found, if it chooses to use counseling as such, a most devastating weapon to employ in its continual struggle for power. . . . one of the most seductive levers of social control that the ingenuity of man has ever invented. . . .
>
> Through hundreds and hundreds of experiments, social scientists have come close to a true science of behavior. They are now beginning to learn how to control conduct. . . . genuine, stark, irrevocable power . . . implications vaster and more fearful than anything previously hinted.

We have so many serious things to worry about these days that it would be a shame if we allowed ourselves to be panicked by these assertions into placing industrial sociology or personnel counseling high on our list of priorities. Mr. Baritz is far closer to the truth on another page where he remarks that at mid-century "industrial social science remained richer in its promise than in its accomplishments, impressive as these had been." For what I trust are obvious reasons, personnel counseling can hardly use either the precise techniques of auricular confession or of psychiatry. If there is anything that social scientists cannot do, it is to control conduct, and even the most blatant and optimistic positivists among them do not claim to be close to a true science of behavior. The years when this "stark, irrevocable power" was developing in the hands of management were the very years in which the total membership in American trade unions multiplied fivefold, and in which the labor movement for the first time in history became a major force in our national life. As Mr. Baritz observes, the leaders of labor have been "apathetic" about developing instrumentalities to counter those of management in this sphere; I am disposed to think that this is not because the labor leaders cannot afford to take countermeasures or hire counterexperts, but because they have made a soberer and more accurate appraisal than he of this allegedly "seductive lever" of social control. If Mr. Reuther and Mr. Meany do not tremble at the thought of all those crafty psychologists who stand at the beck and call of the industrialists, perhaps the rest of us may be forgiven if we are less scared than Mr. Baritz would like us to be.

Where the historian leaves off and the apocalyptic prophet takes over, curiosity about the subject itself begins to lapse. Mr. Baritz's book shows every sign of having been conceived in a reaction against the fad of counseling that grew up during and just after World War II. He shows far less curiosity about the last several years during which the movement has lost its impetus. For example, speaking of Western Electric, which in 1956 put its whole counseling program under review with, as he says, "an eye to its possible discontinuance," Mr. Baritz remarks that the proposed changes "would mean the virtual end of counseling in the organization which gave it birth." But he neglects to report that the counseling program at Western Electric was in fact substantially liquidated, in part because it was found to be expensive and of uncertain value. Similarly, he cites the Harwood Manufacturing Company as an especially sinister case in which the psychic manipulation of workers by social scientists prevented labor unions from making headway, but neglects to report that more recently Harwood has been successfully organized by the I.L.G.W.U., which did not find its counseling program a serious obstacle. The picture is a curious one: one management, possessing an irresistible instrument of control, finally gives it up; another uses it, but finds it eminently resistible.

The author's apocalyptic and denunciatory passages ring with that note of hysteria that so frequently begins to sound when contemporary intellectuals discuss the problem of power—a hysteria that in this case makes an otherwise sober and able young historian sound like an echo of such a professional alarmist as Vance Packard. Mr. Baritz is interested in bigger issues than

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the role of industrial sociology. He is testing, he tells us, the more general proposition that an intellectual is one "whose most essential job rests on resistance to his society." Is it true, he wants to know, that "any intellectual who accepts and approves of his society prostitutes his skills and is a traitor to his heritage"? He is asking "whether, by definition, a man of ideas must maintain the posture of the critic, and whether that intellectual who sincerely believes in and approves of the larger movements of his society can reconcile the demands of his mind and those of his society."

I would not want to deny the reality of the problem, but it seems badly posed here. Anyone who puts the question in these terms and then takes the inordinately vulnerable industrial sociologists as his test case can be pretty sure at the beginning what answer he will emerge with at the end. Surely the very formulation of these questions reflects a powerful fetishism of alienation that is widely prevalent in contemporary thought. Suppose we begin from a somewhat different standpoint by asserting simply that the essential business of the intellectual is to enter, as wholly as he can within the limits of things human, into the disinterested pursuit of truth. By what authority do we then decide in advance that the intellectual is always more right when he arrives at a judgment hostile to his society than when he finds he can approve of it? One can, of course, see how this prejudice in favor of alienation is arrived at. In the first place, existing societies are always bad. In the second, the inquiring mind is always subject to a variety of social pressures, some subtle, others not so subtle, to arrive at agreeable conclusions about the world in which it lives. This in itself constitutes a challenge to the thinker's will; and it is easy enough for sensitive minds who feel that the thinker is always morally on trial to conclude that their main problem is not one of conducting inquiry but of offering resistance, and that the most successful resistance is offered by the man who arrives at nothing but disagreeable conclusions.

Of course, there is a trap in this. If society is to be defined from the outset not as the thinker's problem but as his enemy, we can dispense with the business of inquiry altogether and find the highest virtue in the mind of that intellectual who repudiates his society most uncompromisingly. The intellectual's responsibility, then, is not to criticism but to repudiation. But surely while the intellectual must, in Mr. Baritz's terms, maintain the posture of the critic, one may differ about what criticism here means. To some of us it means simply that nothing—not even the fundamentals of religion or society—is to be held immune from examination. To others it means something more, a commitment to hostility; those who do not show enough hostility to their society are "prostitutes" and "traitors."

What one often finds, as in the case of Mr. Baritz's industrial sociologists who are paid by management not to inquire generally but to achieve certain predetermined ends, is that the necessity of rendering a prescribed service to special interests creates massive inhibitions to a wide-ranging disinterested search for truth. Their work lacks, among other things, the ultimate intellectual virtue of being free and self-moved. But what we may overlook is that service to some overriding ideal of destructive criticism may also distort or inhibit inquiry. If there is anything as bad for the disinterested working of the mind as having no independent commitment to ideas, it is having an excess of commitment to some special or limiting idea. We should not deceive ourselves into thinking that true disinterestedness is easy to achieve: to approximate it, we must protect ourselves not only from external temptation and coercion but from the intimate and cherished biases of our own minds. A distracting regard for self has more than one way of making itself felt in human affairs.

When intellectuals touch upon power, they seem to have two primary complaints: the first is that power disregards the counsels of intellect, that intellect is shut off from access to power; the second is that intellect, having drawn too close to power, has been corrupted, has sold out. This is not

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so funny as it may seem. That the two complaints are contradictory does not mean that each of them, under the proper circumstances, may not be right. I submit this antinomy not for the purpose of mockery but as a clue to the intrinsic difficulty of the subject. Where a contradiction like this appears, it is likely to point to one of those problems that are not ultimately soluble in any humanly satisfactory terms.

Put aside the case of the industrial sociologists who serve money-making managements, and consider the perhaps more appealing case of the intellectuals in government who are presumably trying to work for the larger interests of society. Insofar as they must in some degree approve of their society, are they not also visibly tainted and compromised? Is it not true that the only way for the intellectual to preserve his purity is to have nothing whatever to do with the exercise of power? Writing elsewhere (the *Nation,* January 21, 1961) Mr. Baritz makes it clear that he thinks so; and he surely voices a strain of thought that is still strong in the intellectual community. "Let the intellectual be absorbed into society and he runs the grave risk of permitting himself to be digested by it. . . . When he touches power, it will touch him." He continues with a suggestive formulation: "When the intellectual becomes socially, rather than intellectually, responsible his mind must lose at least part of the freedom and resiliency which is part of his most fundamental equipment." The intellectual's concern for truth and beauty will be spoiled if he allows himself to become "a captive of relevancy." It is for this reason that the ivory tower exists: "this need for social irresponsibility, for irrelevancy, for the freedom which comes from isolation and alienation."

The central assumption here seems to be that social and intellectual responsibility are at swords' points with each other. I would have thought that the relation is somewhat more positive than this. Is it unthinkable that one of the tests of intellectual responsibility might be the social usability of a body of ideas? There are, of course, whole areas of inquiry for which one's approval or disapproval of any society is hardly relevant. But in the social and political sphere of which Mr. Baritz is undoubtedly thinking, can it be true that the only valid ideas are those that are altogether without relevance or those that can be used only to destroy? Granting that utopian thinking has its value, are we then to assert that only utopian thinking is intellectually "pure"? Indeed, is it the goal of intellectual activity to maintain the intellectual's purity—his sense of freedom from guilty involvement—or to add to our understanding of the world? No doubt American thinking has been especially prone to overvalue the practical value of ideas and neglect pure inquiry. But it hardly seems sound on this account to propose that the intellectual life can be lived to fullest advantage only where there is no concern with utility; to do so would be to ignore a large part of the history of science, or to assume (as I sometimes think humanists do) that science has nothing to do with the intellectual life. To argue that no intellectual creativity is possible where there is a taint of concern with practice or with power would be to deny the significance of a large part of our heritage of political and social speculation, much of which has been left us by men who were up to their necks in practical affairs or matters of state. One thinks of men like Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke; or Adam Smith, Ricardo and Keynes.

I do not propose to overlook what is valid in Mr. Baritz's plea for a kind of detachment. A man cannot clear his mind for a fresh look at the world if he has never learned, at least for a moment, at least experimentally, to step outside of that vast and elaborate body of solemn hokum by which every society lives. To be able to take this step may be a *sine qua non* of the civilized mind; but it does not follow that having this capacity for detachment is enough to acquit the thinker of further responsibilities. There is another side: society is an enemy to mind, but also a supplicant to it; it has an urgent need of intellect, a need that is hardly less poignant in our time than in the past. If no one who has cleansed his mind of the presuppositions of

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his own world ever makes the effort of reentering it to test the relevance of thought to action, both thought and action will suffer by the estrangement, and there will be no one who knows how to mediate between intellect and power.

My quarrel with this fetishism of alienation does not rest upon the notion that alienation should not exist. In our society —in any complex, exploitative industrial society—it is both inevitable and valuable; it is one of the conditions of the thinker's usefulness as well as his suffering. But if it is not a disease, it is also not a medicine. To identify the maximum degree of alienation with the optimum exercise of intellect, and to prescribe it as a kind of moral obligation for intellectuals, is in effect to prescribe a single intellectual style for the entire community of thinkers. It is precisely this to which I object, because I believe that both the intellectual life itself and the needs of society are better served when there is a variety of characters and temperaments, life situations and intellectual styles, to be found within the intellectual community. Within this diversity, total alienation or withdrawal no doubt has a legitimate place, but not on the throne or the altar. If I may be parochial and consider for the moment only the course of American history, I am impressed not by the uniformity but by the variety of ways in which creative or scholarly minds have adapted themselves to or withdrawn from American society. Think for example of Franklin and Jefferson, of Emerson and Thoreau, of Howells and Stephen Crane, of Veblen and Holmes, of Emily Dickinson and Wallace Stevens, of H. C. Lea and Henry Adams, of Charles S. Peirce and John Dewey, of Charles A. Beard and Walter Lippmann.

Perhaps all this diversity will yield to some classification, but what it will not yield is a single mold into which one may safely recommend that the creative or critical life be poured. If one takes the fundamental criterion suggested by Mr. Baritz—the degree of acceptance of the society in which one lives—one can discern at least two major traditions. One is that of the clerisy—to adopt a term of Coleridge's—that is, of the intellectuals who carry on intellectual life within the framework of the basic assumptions of the society in which they live and who enjoy a kind of official acceptance as its spokesmen. The other is the tradition of heresy, that is, of men whose major contribution arises from their capacity at least for removing themselves from these basic assumptions, perhaps for attacking them. Men like Howells, the jurist Holmes and Lippmann are good examples of clerisy; men like Thoreau, Veblen, Dreiser and Henry Miller of heresy. Like most such categories, these do not comprehend every individual (what, for instance, were Henry and Brooks Adams?) And there are some men who move from heresy to clerisy within their lifetimes—Emerson, for example—and others who waver uncertainly between the two, like Mark Twain. What is important, however, is not how one writer or another may be classified, but that there is no purpose served in challenging the fundamental legitimacy and usefulness either of clerisy or heresy. We may find that we prefer the critical vitality, the exuberance, the creative originality of the heretics to the clerics, but we are unlikely to deny that among the latter there have been men who still command general admiration.

In fact I wonder if the posture taken toward their country by the majority of creative and reflective minds whose work continues to be of interest to us has not been a complex and ambivalent one, a mixture compounded of both acceptance and alienation. The clerisy would hardly have any lasting urgent interest if they had been nothing but mouthpieces for the mean average sentiment of their times; and the heretics would have been too simple for survival if their very destructiveness had not come out of some mixture of affection and rejection. As for us, we have so much to complain of that it would be a pity not to be able to see such merits as our world happens to have. One of them is that a plurality of styles of intellectual life is still available. Shall we then, out of a romantic commitment to alienation, try to whittle down the scope of our own choice?

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The Editors of the SCHOLAR, *for this Thirtieth Anniversary issue, invited a number of distinguished writers, scholars and critics to single out what were for them the outstanding books of the past three decades. Their answers, naming books notable for originality or for enduring significance or for revelation of changes in thoughts and attitudes, are here presented.*

In 1931 Macmillan published a book by an unknown English writer named Louis Arnaud Reid. He was attached to the University of Liverpool and his book was called *A Study in Aesthetics.* Few people read the book then, and although a book club adoption of the reissue in 1954 widened its circle of readers, I see no signs that its ideas have taken hold of the general mind. Reid is as unappreciated in the United States as is Collingwood. Yet Reid's *Study* should be the bedside book of every critic and every amateur of the arts: it is the only work since Santayana that expounds a philosophy of art while giving evidence that the little three-letter word is to the author a living reality. And Reid's aesthetics is the more catholic and truer of the two—a remarkable performance.

JACQUES BARZUN

* * *

Your letter has been sitting on my desk all month, and I stop every once in a while to try to think about some particular book of the last thirty years that has seemed to me more significant than any other. But nothing happens when I try to think—all sorts of books go tumbling through my mind, from Lucretius to *Alice in Wonderland* or Fowler's *Modern English Usage* to the book I happen to be reading at the moment, Ritchie Calder's *After the Seventh Day.* (Obviously a book I have not finished yet, and that is not yet published, can't have had much influence on me or anyone else.) I did start to write a short note on Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization,* which has greatly influenced my own thinking, although it hasn't had much effect on Bob Moses. But the words wouldn't come out.

MARSTON BATES

* * *

The book of the last thirty years that meant most to me is *Pascal: The Life of Genius.* This I wrote myself. It meant so much to me because in its preparation I was forced to attain some clear formulations of ideas in philosophy, psychology, theology, history, mathematics, physics, mechanics and human behavior. More importantly, it brought me into intimate hourly contact with one of the great poetic diviners in intellectual history. There is a useful lesson here: if you want to find out about something of which you know nothing, write a book about it.

MORRIS BISHOP

* * *

My selection is André Malraux's *The Voices of Silence.* "Humanism," Malraux observes, "does not consist in saying: 'No Animal could have done what we have done,' but in declaring: 'We have refused to do what the beast within us willed to do, and we wish to rediscover Man wherever we discover that which seeks to crush him to the dust.'" This book, more than any other I know published within the last thirty years, helps us discover how modern technology (for example, photography) and modern institutions (for example, the museum) have changed the message that gets through to us from other men—in our past and elsewhere on earth today. Malraux reminds us that, in the very process of im-

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proving our communications and our "images," we make new ways of insulating ourselves. We cannot, it seems to me, escape from these islands until we have first discovered (as Malraux helps us discover) that we live on them.

DANIEL J. BOORSTIN

* * *

The writing of history has changed in the past thirty years. Today's historian acknowledges that his responsibility does not stop with the facts and the footnotes. Like today's scientist, the historian knows that presentation and communication count as well; the result is far more interesting reading. A prime example is Sir John E. Neale's *The Elizabethan House of Commons.* Elaborate and involved material, most of it new and fresh, is magnificently presented; the book leads on like a detective story.

CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN

* * *

My selection for the book review section is, without the slightest hesitation, James Baldwin's *Notes of a Native Son* and *Nobody Knows My Name, More Notes of a Native Son*—in reality, a single book.

I name this book because it reveals with brilliance, objectivity and deep emotion the changes in thoughts and attitudes relating to the most disturbing social question of our time: the Negro in a white man's world. Baldwin's vision, his humor, his tragically beautiful style, make this a book that men will turn to for a long time to come for understanding of the Negro's permutation—and the white man's as well—on a scene that is not limited by frontiers, but stretches as far as Africa, and is as wide as man's understanding, or as narrow as his fear.

KAY BOYLE

* * *

Werner Jaeger's *Paideia* is probably the richest study of humanism in its classical sense that we possess. Its central problem is the position of the individual in the community and the means by which man achieves his true form. A great democracy, as Plato observed, is a variegated pattern, an emporium, of all sorts of men and institutions. But at the core of the tradition of which America is the product, notwithstanding its hospitality to a multitudinous array of beliefs and manners, is the humanist ideal which has sustained the West in its art, science, politics and thought for twenty-five hundred years. The re-examination, everywhere evident, of America's position cannot bypass that powerful ideal. The *Paideia* shows us the errors and successes that marked the struggle for a mature humanism; it shows us further the relevance of that ideal to our own values.

HUNTINGTON CAIRNS

* * *

I would name Herbert J. Muller's *The Uses of the Past* as a work of enduring significance.

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CASS CANFIELD

* * *

I like your idea very much and wish I could write something on the subject. But I can think of no single book that I would choose above all others for any reason whatsoever—at least among those published in the last thirty years. A great many books have meant something to me, especially in research, but none of them has been of any really fundamental importance. If I had been obliged to choose a book of the twenties I would probably have taken J. L. Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu,* which combines certain qualities I happen to admire; but since then there is no book that comes particularly to my mind.

I would be curious to know, statistically,

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how many of the choices date from college days. Reading is usually at its most excited and its most vulnerable during that period; a kind of a cooling off takes place later on, and I don't know whether this increased resistance is a loss or a gain.

MARCHETTE CHUTE

* * *

About nobility in poetry Wallace Stevens once said that it was a force—the force exerted by the "imagination pressing back against the pressure of reality." He went on to claim that the existence of this force has "something to do with our self-preservation," and that "the expression of it . . . helps us to live our lives." In the last thirty years there have been a few books in which the invaluable contention here described becomes the substance of a whole work of literary art; Eliot's *Four Quartets* is one of them. After twenty years the delicate melodies of this poem ("the tattered arras woven with a silent motto"), many of its scrutable sayings ("History may be servitude, / History may be freedom"), and even the boldest of its rhythms ("Quick now, here, now, always") retain their resonance. The book is certain to have a long life.

BENJAMIN DEMOTT

* * *

Herbert Aptheker's *A History of the American People* attracted me because it is the only history I know that treats the black man as an integral part of the nation rather than as an outside appendage. The 600,000 American Negroes of 1775 formed a fifth of the nation and over a fourth of the working class. For two centuries their unpaid labor was the foundation of American capitalism and formed the wealth of Southern planters and Northern merchants. These Negroes worked beside 300,000 white "indentured" slaves, separated from them by racist ideology while Indians were burned alive for the glory of God and witches and heretics were killed and exiled. Negroes fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill; some 5,000 were soldiers during the American Revolution. They contributed to American culture and literature. Failure to free them after the first Revolution led to a second Revolution eighty years after, which was a bloody Civil War. What other history tells this tale?

W. E. B. DU BOIS

* * *

William Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity* was the seminal book of poetic criticism of my college days. It appeared in 1930. I was at St. John's, he at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1927-1929. Empson's papers at tea at I. A. Richards' turned out to be chapters of this book, perhaps the most startlingly original critical one written in thirty years. He established ambiguity, irony and ambivalence as prime factors for the study of poetry. It was a heady performance, composed in his early twenties, to which there is no American parallel.

Empson's book now seems quaint, a fascinating antique. It may now be read as heraldry; in the thirties we took it with headlong belief.

Where is the critical Empson of the sixties who will write of clarity, simplicity and purity in a manner evocative of the heart to give poetry a new way?

RICHARD EBERHART

* * *

André Malraux's great book on art, *The Voices of Silence,* is, I think, as valuable as any book of the last thirty years. M. Malraux "hears" the human voice and the human motive behind the creation of visual forms, and so evokes for us the incredibly varied life of the spirit in time and space. In this perspective—that of the "museum without walls"—we can understand both modern art and the troubled awareness behind it in a new way. His book presents no single, coherent thesis, but it embodies a vision of human life that is an indispensable aid to reflection upon our unmapped "one world."

FRANCIS FERGUSSON

* * *

My choice seems to fall between A. N. Whitehead's *Adventures of Ideas* and Reinhold Niebuhr's *Nature and Destiny of Man,* and, since I must choose, I shall vote

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for the former. Even though I should not regard myself as a Whiteheadian, this book has seemed to me to contain the most imaginative and liberating thinking of our era about civilization, science, religion and reality.

WILLIAM K. FRANKENA

* * *

Thirty years would include the publication of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* in 1938. This is the only twentieth-century book that I find myself living with, in the way that I live with *Tristram Shandy,* Burton's *Anatomy,* Dickens and the greater poets. It is an inexhaustible word-hoard of humor, wit, erudition and symbolism; it never, for me, degenerates into a mere puzzle, but always has on every page something to astonish and delight.

NORTHROP FRYE

* * *

The outstanding achievement for me has been the autobiography Sean O'Casey published in six separate volumes from 1939 to 1956. I know of no other work of recent decades that has approached this autobiography in power of observation, strength of feeling and beauty of language. To know this work is to know a man, a country and a period—in short, a world. Since this world has been acutely experienced by its author, it possesses intense and immediate reality. In this work are reflected many of the tensions and strivings of the common man, but these have also been universalized by a profound and instinctive humanity. And transformed, one should add, by a very uncommon sensibility, in prose that for all its characteristic extravagance is genuinely original and alive. The writing may not always be "good," but it is often "great."

I have been more stimulated by Mann's *Dr. Faustus* and his Joseph novels, the plays of Bertolt Brecht and perhaps the writings of Arthur Koestler since *Darkness at Noon.* But these writings individually have not given me half as much sense of being alive, open to experience and related to individual humanity.

JOHN GASSNER

Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* is surely one of the influential books of this generation. Its subtitle, "The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy," highlights its contribution, for it is not merely the Negro problem with which it deals but also the unyielding aspects of that problem that arise in any country that hopes to call itself a modern democracy.

For years many as individuals, of both races, struggled with this problem and made little progress against the intractable forces that were involved. It was Myrdal's book that made the problem coalesce, that made it clearly appear as the moral problem it is, the problem that must be resolved if America is to be truly a democracy.

To a large extent, the solution of the problem lies in education. In a very real sense, Myrdal started that educational process.

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD

* * *

Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* is a big book—but it is also a great one. It is a heavy volume—but it deals with weighty matters. Inasmuch as Mr. Mumford feels that the fate of mankind through history has been closely interwoven with the fate of the city, it deals really with the history of mankind.

"Without a long running start in history, we shall not have the momentum needed . . . to take a sufficiently bold leap into the future" is a statement made in Chapter One. The long running start takes us from prehistoric times over nearly 500 pages to the present. The following chapters deal with the city's prospects. The picture is not a rosy one, and Mr. Mumford states, "it is useless to speculate about the future of cities until we have reckoned with the forces of annihilation and extermination that now, almost automatically, and at an ever accelerating rate, are working to bring about a more general breakdown." The reader who finds himself agreeing with the description of the dismal conditions of today's urban society and with the statement, "The poorest Stone Age savage never lived in such a destitute and demoralized community," becomes thoroughly disheartened

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about the state of urban affairs until he reaches page 560 at the sentence, "Now, if the total picture were as grim as that I have painted in the present chapter, there would be no excuse for writing this book," and later on, "Yet in the midst of all this disintegration fresh nodules of growth have appeared and, even more significantly, a new pattern of life has begun to emerge."

In the grand finale of the book, Mr. Mumford opens to the reader a panorama of the missions, purposes and functions of the regional city of the future. At no time does he give recipes as to how the philosophical aims are to be achieved. Yet anybody reading through the book with an open mind and with the full understanding that the city's noblest and most important function is to serve people and not machines (whether political or mechanical) can piece together, like a mosaic, from the stones of criticism thrown at the sins of urbanism and from the positive statements about the valid goals, a constructive philosophy on which environmental planning for the future can be based.

VICTOR GRUEN

* * *

Alas! I am taking off for Europe in a few days, and will be abroad all month. I'm particularly sorry because your proposal is a most interesting one. If I had planned to be at my desk, I should have liked to review an outstanding and influential book in the history of science, like E. A. Burtt's *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*. I can think of no work that has had such reverberations among our little band of brethren.

HENRY GUERLAC

* * *

Thirty years is a long time in the memory of a man, and detection of the causes of changes in thoughts and attitudes over so long a period is best left to sociologists, historians and other assessors of significance. I doubt that creative writers—of which I doubtfully count myself one—ever consider these matters, in appraisal or work. The conscientious novelist, for one, simply tries to get to the heart and guts of life and so to illuminate it, as much for himself as for his readers.

I narrow your question to the designation of the writer of fiction who, for thirty years and more, has most influenced others. The answer is Hemingway. Within your limits of a hundred words I have not room to say why. I can say only that fiction is better because of him.

A. B. GUTHRIE, JR.

* * *

No other novel published in the last thirty years has so moved and impressed me as Gladys Schmitt's *Rembrandt*—although I have found three or four others very impressive indeed. This is to me a towering and majestic book, drenched unobtrusively in the colors of the artist's own palette. Yet in so persuasively rendering *his* world, Miss Schmitt has created a world of her own that combines rare, almost paradoxical elements. On the one hand the people, the scene, the feelings and experiences are as real to me as what happens every day of my own life (sometimes more real). At the same time the book has so lofty a vision of what it may mean to be human that, defying all the easy superlatives of our times, I believe that one must turn to Tolstoi's big novels to find its peers.

HIRAM HAYDN

* * *

In the middle of an ocean in the middle of a war, I read a book that cemented an understanding of two simple concepts: that the lives of men are circumstantial segments in the seamless flow of the Life of Man, and that this enigmatic, conscious Life of Man is only a tiny second at our end of the long story of the world.

A book gains meaning as it engages the mind of a reader. Some books reach many minds, some a few. Like a friend or a teacher, no book is universal. The meaning is none the less for the one touched, should he be the only one.

My book was called *The Stream of History*, written by Geoffrey Parsons.

ALEXANDER HEARD

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Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* came at a crucial moment, when we were all in danger of becoming lost in a murky sea where nothing had a meaning and sharpness of its own. There had been endless writing about social conformity, the lack of privacy, the degeneration of politics, et cetera. Miss Arendt brought to all these concerns the clear illumination of a single piercing insight, beautifully and subtly elaborated and touching almost all aspects of contemporary life. The work of a political philosopher, her book reminded us that this ancient discipline has still a saving power, and is, indeed, perhaps the only discipline that can set forth in a clear light both the good and the bad of the modern world.

AUGUST HECKSCHER

* * *

Ibn Khaldûn's Philosophy of History, by Dr. Muhsin Mahdi, is, I feel, an extremely significant contribution to history and social science because of the light it throws on the broader relationships of the whole of Western European culture. Although a great deal has been written about Ibn Khaldûn, I do not believe the degree to which his ideas were forerunners of present-day thinking in the field of social science has heretofore been advanced. Of course he was a great historian and administrator, but it is startling to find how clearly he discerned the distinction between historical research and the scientific approach to the study of culture—that is, the factor of time sequence as contrasted to the analytical study of human behavior. The fact that, to quote Mahdi, "the examination of the nature and causes of human society" was for Ibn Khaldûn a means "to reveal the internal aspect of the external events of history" seems to me to broaden considerably the base not only of our understanding of the contribution of this great figure, but also of the way in which the thinking of students of man in recent times has been following along lines that were developed by this outstanding Arabian scholar.

As an anthropologist, I find it a sobering experience to read this exposition of how so many of the basic concepts of my own science were anticipated so many centuries ago. It indicates more clearly than any book I have read for a long time the unities in human behavior as they are reflected in the unities of the approach of students who are concerned with the human experience. More than ever before we need to grasp these unities; and the fact that the more the changes that are brought about, the more the basic similarities in the ways of man persist, is critical.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

* * *

I choose *Philosopher's Holiday* because it so well represents the mind and manner of Irwin Edman (for, after all, it is minds and men that we mean when we speak of books). His comprehensive range, his amused yet balanced assessment of ideas and persons as they are manifested in the goings-on in our little world, and his rare clarity of expression give this popularly conceived work an enduring freshness.

Edman carried on the tradition of our great teachers and it is not extravagant to suggest that he enriched it by his contribution to the scholarship of our day.

B. W. HUEBSCH

* * *

I believe Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* is the nearest approach to a *summa* that our age has produced: its only rival is Camus' *The Plague.* Critics may dispute whether Mann attempted to put too much into it—whether the result is a fully integrated work of art—but from the standpoint of the author's own career and of the crisis in Western culture whose various aspects he had tried to express, *Doctor Faustus* marks the culmination of a half-century of thought and writing. The themes of disease and death, of music as both the highest and the most "dangerous" form of art, of the dialectical relationship between bourgeois humanism and ideological terror, and of Germany's ambiguous role in the modern world—these themes, which fascinated

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H. STUART HUGHES

* * *

In the field of literary criticism, where I do a little subsistence farming, the outstanding book of the past thirty years is Kenneth Burke's *Attitudes toward History,* published in 1937. With its concept of "symbolic action," it profoundly revolutionized the study and teaching of literature. Burke showed us an unexplored realm of human experience enacted in poems and novels: symbolic changes of identity, rites of transformation and rebirth. Literary forms became attitudes toward experience, the works using them became actions (for reader as well as writer), for all their "symbolic" nature as real and significant as any other. After *Attitudes toward History* it was never again possible to read literature as though it didn't matter.

STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN

* * *

Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* is the book that more than any other has given me desperately needed light on what C. P. Snow calls "the most shameful episode in human history." Perhaps all parts of it are not equally valuable; certainly the last sections, on Soviet communism, show many parallels to nazism that are perhaps more logical than sound. But in the major part of her book Hannah Arendt was able to bring philosophical analysis to political disorder of the most frightful kind. She was able to suggest the profound lapse in human thinking and in human solidarity that nazism represents. And it is for her ability to suggest the violence in human attitudes that alone can even begin to suggest the violence of nazism that I most prize her book. Her thinking has a moral grandeur suitable to the terror of her subject.

ALFRED KAZIN

* * *

No one, perhaps, has revealed the horrors and triumphs of the last thirty years as sharply as Simone Weil. *Waiting for God* talks about a number of important things, and it embodies three that are absolutely crucial: first, what it means to accept, even to welcome the world of immediacy without becoming its mere prisoner; second, what it means to hold to one's religious faith apart from the conventionally faithful; and third, what it means to discover one's individual nature through an active share in the suffering of others. Miss Weil is remarkable for her power to hold us within the corrosive revelations of her sanctity; and she does so by evoking the common world we are afraid to face. In this she acts like a major artist; her work asserts its value not through its high fashion or overt influence but through its grasp of the harshest kinds of reality.

DOUGLAS KNIGHT

* * *

On the Road by Jack Kerouac portrays the feeling of life among the young after the Second World War more powerfully than anything I have read. The weird mixture of academic interests and delinquent habits, the intense, out-of-focus hurtling across America, the absolute lack of social pretensions, the seeking for something very important, somewhere, the experiments with life and the gobbling of books, the betrayals and loyalties, the tenderness, the raw sincerity, all these showed an American youth different from any before. It was new and it was true, and it is not surprising that it took ten years to gain recognition. I had few of the experiences of these characters and yet as I read the book I felt the famous Shock of Recognition. This is how it was, this is what the air was full of, this is how the nervous, responding, forward edge of the American young came out of the war.

JOHN KNOWLES

* * *

Lancelot Law Whyte's *The Next Development in Man* had the effect of an incantation, forecasting the future in order to call it into being. Whyte desires an end to Man's divided nature, the "European dissociation," the Cartesian split between *res extensa* and *res cogitans,* matter and mind, fact and value; and he expects it to come

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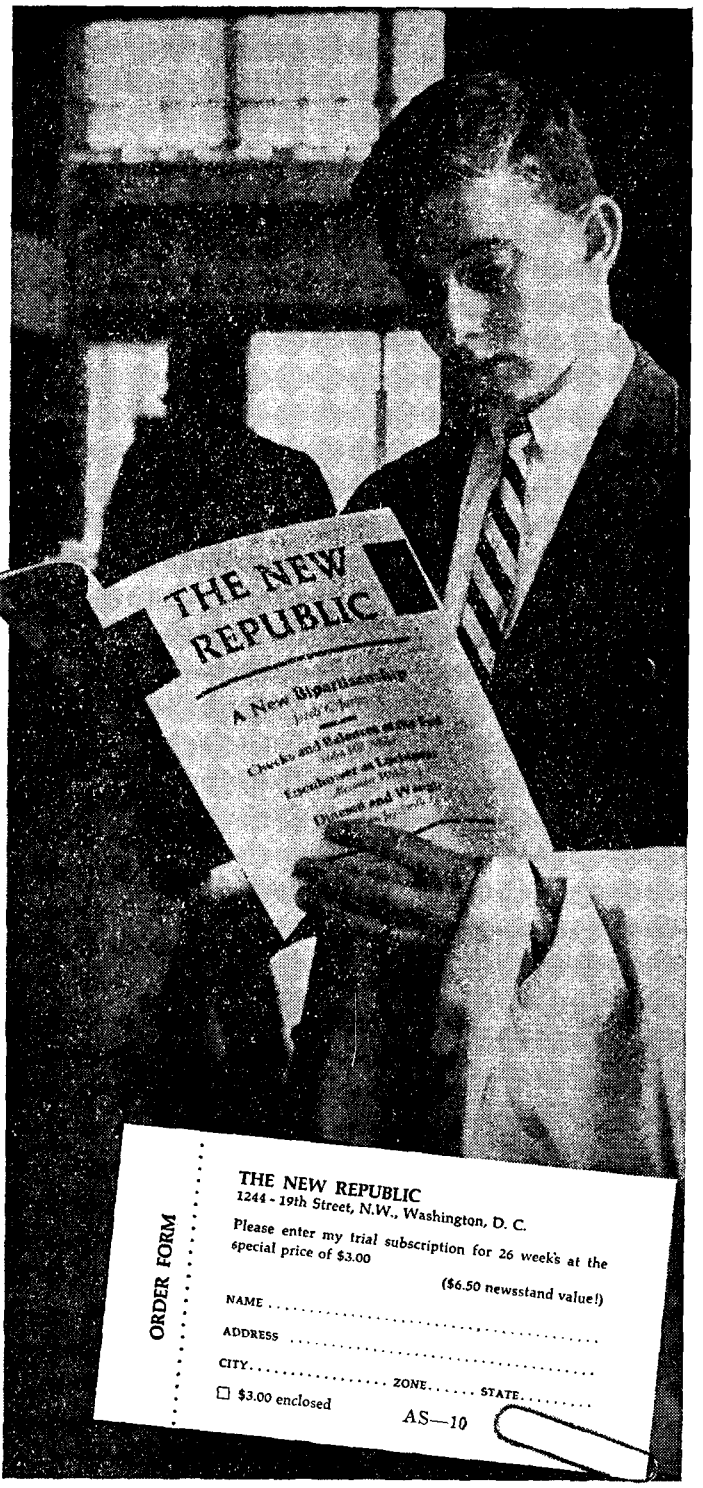

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about through the emergence of a new "unitary" human character, an irreversible turning point in the evolution of the race comparable to the development of personal self-consciousness in the latter half of the first millenium, B. C., or to the adoption of the quantitative method around 1600. A Golden Age seems little closer, but this trumpet call announcing it is still reverberant.

ERIC LARRABEE

* * *

When Jean Cocteau was asked to designate France's greatest poet, he responded: "Hugo, alas!" Your question prompts me, in a similarly elegiac mood, to cite *Finnegans Wake*. Twenty years after Joyce's death, his literary testament—which had been published two years before, in the opening year of World War II—seems to be more retrospective than revolutionary, somewhat more of a playground for technicians than a message to the world. But in its ingenious detail and monstrous scale, its museum-like culture and self-defeating virtuosity, its calculated disorders and prefabricated fragments, it will loom as a monument to our time.

HARRY LEVIN

* * *

Those little 100-word pieces by which one hangs oneself sound so easy in prospect and prove so difficult in execution. I am going to beg off because I can't put my feelings about Yeats's *Last Poems* into one hundred words and because I have already tried to put them into many times that number. But I am grateful you wanted to ask me to collaborate.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

* * *

In *The Uses of the Past,* Herbert J. Muller, professor of English and government, views the meaning of history with the eye of a liberal philosopher. Rich in knowledge, balanced in judgment, the book begins in St. Sophia. There, while a visiting professor at the University of Istanbul, Muller checked the marks that the masons had made to claim their fees. Something of the same intimacy with the past carries us back to remoter times and on to the fearful crisis of today. He shows us that "if all the great civilizations have died, none is really dead." Against the "prayerful" Toynbee, he says: "If we want to save our world, not merely our private souls, we might better try to keep and use our heads." His book helped me to keep and use mine.

KENNETH MACGOWAN

* * *

It is not always American writing that most deeply impresses Americans. So I do not apologize for the curious book in which I have taken most pleasure during the last decade—Ronald Knox's sole masterpiece, *Enthusiasm*. Supposedly it is a history of Christian heresies and on that basis it is superb. But I find it something more important. It is also a history of recurrent patterns of the human mind, as applicable to literature, politics and government as to religion. Montanism and Donatism, Albigensianism and Jansenism—puritanism, evangelism, rationalism and superrationalism, quietism, relaxation—they are all constantly erupting phenomena of man's temperament. To be acquainted with this scholarly, brilliantly witty, crotchety book is to be better acquainted with the planet and its odd occupants.

PHYLLIS MCGINLEY

* * *

I would choose *Childhood and Society,* by Erik Erikson, as a rare and living combination of European and American thought in the human sciences, refracted through one discipline in the way of working that has been developed in these last twenty-five years. The book is the work of a psychoanalytic therapist, drawing on both the humanities and the sciences of anthropology and child development. Primarily a study of children, it includes the whole life span retrospectively and prospectively; a study of individuals, it views them within their full socio-cultural setting. In scope it reaches back to the forests of Old Russia and the salmon-fishing Indians of California, and it looks forward to new insights about the lives of children not yet born,

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MARGARET MEAD

* * *

Agricultural Origins and Dispersals, by Carl O. Sauer, is my candidate for the dolorous crown of the most neglected excellent book known to me, published during the past thirty years. It is a study of what man has done with the plants and animals at his disposal. Dr. Sauer's final paragraph sums up the lessons of the book:

> Our civilization still rests, and will continue to rest on the discoveries made by peoples for the most part unknown to history. Historic man has added no plant or animal of major importance to the domesticated forms on which he depends. He has learned lately to explain a good part of the mechanisms of selection, but the arts thereof are immemorial and represent an achievement that merits our respect and attention. We remain a part of the organic world, and as we intervene more and more decisively to change the balance and nature of life, we have also more need to know, by retrospective study, the responsibilities and hazards of our present and our prospects as lords of creation.

HENRY ALLEN MOE

* * *

Congratulations upon the Thirtieth Anniversary of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. It is a prime age.

The Origins of Love and Hate by Ian D. Suttie, published in 1936, the year following the author's death at the age of forty-five, is the book that, of all those I have read during the last thirty years, has meant most to me. It was the first effective constructive criticism of the Freudian view of human nature I had read. It opened my eyes to the meaning of many human behavioral traits that I had previously not clearly understood. Suttie's treatment of aggression, for example, was the first I had encountered that made verifiable sense. The whole book glows with originality and stimulating ideas, and withal it constitutes a beautifully convincing corrective to the pessimism of Freud.

ASHLEY MONTAGU

* * *

As I reflect on the multitude of books published and read over the past thirty years, I can think of none to which I have returned more often and with more constant satisfaction than Louis J. Halle's *Spring in Washington,* a mixture of ornithology, international affairs and reflections on the human scene. Written by a State Department official during World War II, it is an escape to the real world of nature and of man. "To snatch the passing moment and examine it for signs of eternity is the noblest of occupations," writes Halle. He does so with quiet wisdom and originality. To read him is inevitably to share his passion.

JOHN W. NASON

* * *

I have been rereading with great interest and pleasure Kenneth Burke's early (and only) novel, *Towards a Better Life.* After confessing his failure at "the customary manner of the objective, realistic novel," the author in his preface describes better than I could what he attempts: "Lamentation, rejoicing, beseechment, admonition, sayings, and invective—these seemed to me central matters, while a plot in which they might occur seemed peripheral . . . . justifiable . . . . only insofar as it could bring these characteristics to the fore." The succeeding thirty years of objective, realistic novels have had the adventitious effect of making this book look better and better. I may cite also the same author's long story, "The Anesthetic Revelation of Herone Liddell," *Kenyon Review,* Fall, 1957.

HOWARD NEMEROV

* * *

For a historian, after thirty years of labor, to have his work given new meaning by an unusually gifted scholar was an experience to be cherished. We who were trained by those returning from indoctrination in the German University seminars knew his-

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tory as a science depending on accurate fact finding; thereafter, the data told the story without much human intervention. Then, after some warning from Croce, to learn from R. G. Collingwood in *The Idea of History* that history is "thought," and that the historian produces history by rethinking the thoughts of those whose thoughts can be recaptured, opened new vistas. This historian has never been quite the same since.

ROY F. NICHOLS

* * *

Arthur O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* is one of the great books of our generation. Professor Lovejoy charts the course of "one of the half-dozen most potent and persistent presuppositions in Western thought," basic to human thinking for well over two thousand years, from Plato and Aristotle down into the nineteenth century. The work of a scholar widely read in philosophy and in literatures ancient and modern, the book possesses all of the values and none of the limitations of the method of "the history of ideas" of which Professor Lovejoy was the founder and in which he will remain the most distinguished practitioner.

MARJORIE NICOLSON

* * *

A landmark in the history of classical scholarship, Charles Norris Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture* studies and interprets the first centuries of our era when Graeco-Roman civilization amalgamated with Christianity to form the basic culture of which the Western world is heir. The volume opens with a presentation of the "eternal" Rome of the *Pax Augusta,* considers next the "resolutions" of Constantine and Theodosius, and concludes with a powerful analysis of the thought of St. Augustine, in whom for the first time in any full sense the Graeco-Roman and the Hebraic-Christian came together. Cochrane's treatment of St. Augustine's view of history is particularly notable, but the real achievement is the author's demonstration in act that profound understanding of a notable historical epoch demands the complete skills of historian *and* philosopher.

WHITNEY J. OATES

* * *

The Phenomenon of Man by P. Teilhard de Chardin is a work that demands the attention of scientist, theologian and poet. It is a search for human significance in the evolutionary process. Because Teilhard is both a man of science and a believer, the scientist and the theologian will require considerable time to sift and evaluate his thought, but the poet, whose sight is essentially prophetic, will at once recognize in Teilhard a kindred intelligence. His is a scientific expression of what the poet attempts to do: penetrate matter until spirit is revealed in it. Teilhard's vision sweeps forward without detaching itself at any point from the earth.

FLANNERY O'CONNOR

* * *

Rarely does an author dare to turn explorer and follow the tortuous trail that may lead to better understanding of man's attitudes and beliefs. When the search focuses upon the evolution of human thought concerning the universe and even the meaning of life itself then, indeed, the "explorer" has launched upon a formidable adventure.

The Firmament of Time by Loren Eiseley is an epic of this kind. With historical perspective it reaches back to Judaeo-Greek philosophy and culminates in contemporary thought. It is enriched by references to the thinking of scholars and poets over the centuries as well as by the author's interpretations of them—and, finally, by the expression of his own beliefs.

Above all else, this remarkable book indicates only too clearly that the tenacity of outworn beliefs is the greatest obstacle to human progress.

FAIRFIELD OSBORN

* * *

I choose *The Image of America* by R. L. Bruckberger because, written by a Frenchman for his own countrymen (to rid them

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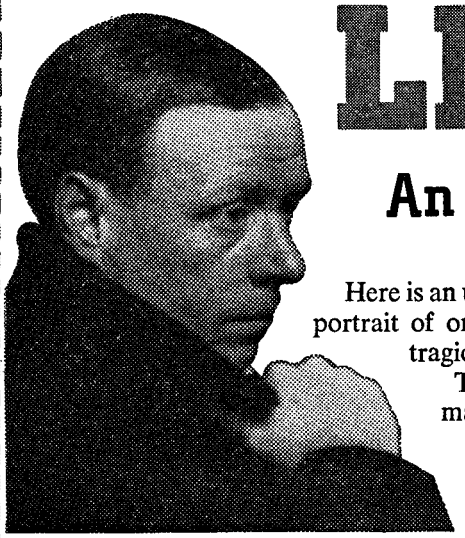

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McGRAW-HILL

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of their cliché thinking about America), it is profoundly a book for ourselves. For it speaks about America in ways we ourselves seem unable to achieve. It is Tocqueville come alive—again with Gallic clarity, wit and perspective.

Father Bruckberger, assigned by his Dominican Order to a post in the Middle West, developed a deep affection for our country and our people. In the end, he found here the answers to the frightening heresy that now invades the world: the subordination of Man to abstractions.

"There are those who have begun to despair of the West. It is for them that I am writing."

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

* * *

In the field of philosophy, clearly the two books most influential in changing men's thinking during this period have been Carnap's *Logische Syntax der Sprache* and Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations.* I seriously doubt, however, whether either is of enduring significance, or whether the latter displays any genuine originality.

The books that have meant most to me came out some time before 1932, Plato and Aristotle. The thinkers issuing outstanding works after 1932 had already published their most significant volumes earlier: Dewey, Whitehead, Santayana and Russell. The man whose major writings appeared during this period who has meant, and means, most to me is Frederick J. E. Woodbridge: *Nature and Mind* and *An Essay on Nature.* His inspired historical sense, his grasp on the logical core of the classical tradition, his open-minded welcome of the significant criticisms of that tradition in the light of experience, his all-pervasive Platonic, Aristotelian and pragmatic functional thinking, combined with writing that is the very model of what philosophical prose should be, make these two books of enduring significance both to technical philosophers and to all those concerned with human wisdom.

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

* * *

Although W. E. B. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction* has been criticized—mistakenly, I think—as containing "unfortunately . . . a distended application of the Marxist doctrine," no book published in the past thirty years has been a greater stimulus to a re-examination of the value premises of "orthodox" Southern history, and none has had a greater influence on ideas about how reality actually was in that seminal quarter of a century that included the Civil War, Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction. For all its faults—and it is verbose, angry, exhortatory—it heralded the new school of historical studies and social thought that has produced such varied works as *Origins of the New South, The Mind of the South* and *The Peculiar Institution,* and that is largely responsible for that fundamental revision of ideas and conclusion upon which rest new state and federal programs for civic equality.

SAUNDERS REDDING

* * *

What you ask is difficult for one who prefers classicism to innovation and who has found that the predicting of books of enduring significance can turn out to be embarrassing years after. If I might name one book that among others has meant something to me, it would be a modest and forgotten one, its influence purely personal. Much of my younger life was spent among the remnants of American pioneer stock but the original mind of these simple people, their life wisdom, rich human lore and poetic turn of thought was almost never found by me in fiction about them. Cooper, Garland and the rest, with the occasional exception of Sarah Orne Jewett and Robert Frost, gave small sign in their writing that they ever knew this mind, or if they did, they had translated it to convention and cant as many early courts translated the living testimony of these people to legal statement. Not until a school teacher's wife in Georgia set down her butter people in the hills did I come upon their manner of thinking faithfully expressed in a novel. Here in print I found a mind very similar to that of my remote valley people in Pennsylvania and to a great extent that of the pioneer folk I knew in New Mexico.

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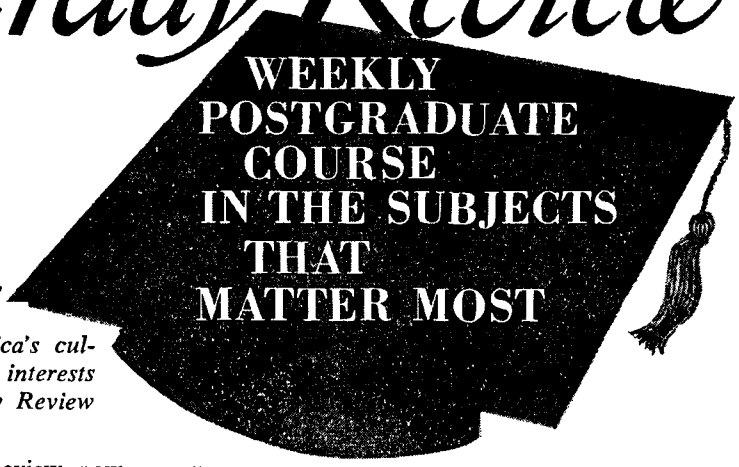
Saturday Review



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It encouraged my Ohio trilogy but it could never be the mark of a new trend in writing because the only begetter of this mind, the original pioneer stock itself, was vanishing forever, swallowed up by the totalitarianism of civilization and progress, and no one except he who intimately knew and was spiritually akin to that mind, as perhaps Jesse Stuart and a few others today, could hope to detect the real from the flood of imitation or genuinely try to reveal its secret and peculiar treasure. The novel was *Lamb in His Bosom* by Carolyn Miller, and I read it some twenty years ago.

CONRAD RICHTER

* * *

Thinking about the books and ideas that have influenced me, I wanted to mention to you *Marx's Concept of Man,* a volume of Karl Marx's early humanistic writings that Erich Fromm has just brought out in this country with a long and penetrating introduction—one of the very best things that Fromm himself has written. It is for me a further demonstration of the necessity of rescuing Marx from the Communists and emphasizing that humanistic side of him that both the Communists and most anti-Marxists have tried to repress. Being a utopian myself, I had taken too literally Marx's own claims to be "scientific" and antiutopian, and while in books like *The German Ideology* I had some sense of Marx's own earlier utopianism, I did not fully appreciate the depth, persistence, and scope of this side of Marx until reading the Fromm collection. (Daniel Bell in his essay, "Two Roads from Marx," in *The End of Ideology,* takes a view sharply different from Fromm as to where Marx's central concerns lay.) In the large and growing neutralist part of the globe, "socialism" still holds out hopes for humane as well as managerial, statist or totalitarian goals; indeed, these hopes are not completely crushed even behind the Iron Curtain and within the NATO bloc. As Fromm suggests, the publication of these early writings of Marx might conceivably do something to retrieve the socialist ideals, both from their Communist captors and their uninformed opponents within the militant "free enterprise" countries.

DAVID RIESMAN

* * *

I think *The Coming of the New Deal,* by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is most interesting and a real contribution to the history of our period. Since I lived through the period, it pointed up for me the many things that have really changed and, I believe, changed quite permanently because of the basic philosophy that government had a real responsibility for the well-being of the people. This is brought out very clearly in Mr. Schlesinger's book, and history becomes both readable and vivid.

The second book I would mention is *The Ugly American,* by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, which pointed up for many of us, although it was exaggerated in spots, the image that we were painting in our contacts with other civilizations in other areas of the world. The picture was perhaps overdrawn but it was stirring, and I think we needed some of the shock it produced.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

* * *

A book that has meant a great deal to me personally and that possesses, in my opinion, special significance for our historical period is *Mysticism: Christian and Buddhist* by the noted Japanese scholar and philosopher, D. T. Suzuki. Choosing in particular the teachings of the great fourteenth-century Christian mystic, Meister Eckhart (so long misread and misinterpreted) and certain of the old Zen masters of China and Japan (today enjoying surprising Western popularity), Dr. Suzuki develops the thesis that Buddhism and Christianity have much more in common than traditional studies would appear to indicate. Similarities—differences also—(for Dr. Suzuki is not proselytizing for any false or easy syntheses) are set forth in a lucid prose designed for intelligent laymen and not merely for theological "experts." Western psychology's "theory of empathy" and

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the Eastern "doctrine of identity," Buddhism's "Emptiness" and Eckhart's "God's Is-ness," occidental concern with "verticals" and the oriental emphasis on "horizontals" (a contrast meaningfully revealed in such religious images as Christ's body hanging on the crucifix and the Buddha lying on his side in the Last Sleep)—these random examples indicate only a few among many fresh and suggestive insights offered by Dr. Suzuki in this small, illuminating volume which, viewed in its totality, would seem to promise the possibility of an eventual East-West *rapprochement* on levels of understanding more subtle and enduring than the current overemphasis in areas of economics and politics.

NANCY WILSON ROSS

* * *

I would submit: Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man*—because Niebuhr's reinterpretation of human nature and history helped shift the basis of our democratic faith from an optimistic rationalism to a tempered and skeptical pragmatism and thereby immeasurably strengthened that faith for the storms of mid-century.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

* * *

Thomas Mann was past the peak of his powers when he wrote the *Joseph* series, but the masterly qualities of his prose are there—its classical precision of statement, its urbane poise, its ability to move from homely concreteness to poetic or philosophical flight. When Flaubert and George Eliot reached into the past for material, they were unable to evoke the reality present in their contemporary novels, but Mann creates characters with the same intimacy in ancient Egypt as in modern Germany.

It was through Mann that I first found my own voice, and rereadings never fail to bring back the old heady sense of release.

GLADYS SCHMITT

* * *

Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* is in many ways a crude work, and today its lingo seems old-fashioned. Nevertheless, it is not only the epic of our "boom" years but remains the major documentation in literature of American business culture. American fiction had a rich if brief tradition of the business novel before *Babbitt,* but in almost all this fiction the businessman was the ruthless tycoon, the magnificently corrupt over-reacher. After the First World War, the tycoon may still have been the most colorful and dramatic figure in the business myth, but he was no longer the characteristic figure, and *Babbitt* discovered the difference. This is the world of the middleman. No producer himself, his success depends on public relations. He does not rule; he "joins" to be safe. To climb with the crowd, he derides all difference, denounces all dissent. With the supremacy of public relations, he abolishes human relations. And that, surely, is one of the great lessons of our time.

MARK SCHORER

* * *

The most important lesson science has to teach is that man is inseparably a part of the living landscape, from now on responsible for its fate and *ergo* for his own. Since this lesson is generally lost in the shuffle of mass education, any book that presents it in convincing fashion deserves not to be forgotten.

From the small treasury of the past thirty years, enriched by such living masters as Fraser Darling, Joseph Krutch, Loren Eiseley and Joseph Matthews, I select the posthumous volume of writings by Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac.*

Asked to review it soon after it appeared, I confessed to a paralysis of the pen, saying then what I believe now: "When a thing is so right as this book, so simply, clearly and charmingly written, it seems enough to say as much and to urge all who love the out-of-doors and all who would better comprehend it to read for themselves."

PAUL B. SEARS

* * *

In most scientific fields it is a single technical article rather than a book that effectively advances knowledge and stands out as most significant; in humanistic disci-

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plines it is often the total book-size argument that opens a new era or closes an old one. Articles by Sir Arthur Eddington on atoms and stellar interiors, Meghnad N. Saha on temperature ionization and stellar spectra, Karl Schwarzschild on stellar statistics, and Albert Einstein on mass-energy equivalence are astronomical highlights of this century. But as to books, let us choose Henry Norris Russell's *The Solar System and Its Origin.* These Virginia lectures have inspired both textbook writers and delvers into local cosmogony. Although much recent research has been done in this fundamental astronomical field, Russell's clearly written and deeply thought pioneering is never overlooked.

HARLOW SHAPLEY

* * *

Ralph Ellison's novel, *Invisible Man,* made, and has left, on me a particularly vivid impression. My upbringing was called "liberal"; but not until I read this book did it dawn upon me to what extent my "liberalism" was a disguise for ignorance and indifference. *Invisible Man* relates in powerful novelistic terms what today is being journalistically proclaimed on all sides: that a large part of our nation is artificially shut off from the rest; that many of us have been living blandly and blindly, unaware of our fellow men of a different color, to the detriment of our own humanity.

FRANCIS STEEGMULLER

* * *

F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* is as substantial and exciting as it seemed to us when we first read it twenty years ago. The study of American literature was still under the influence of Parrington, and Matthiessen was concerned lest his followers continue to use the works of these writers of the Renaissance (and others) as "documents" merely. His central purpose was to establish the fact that "although literature reflects an age, it also illuminates it." The quality of this illumination he conveyed superbly. He succeeded so well that it is true to say that he shunted the writing of American literary history onto the main track.

WILLARD THORP

I have been unable to think of any one book published in the past thirty years that stands out preeminently in my mind, but I had a reading experience during that time that is still vivid for me. One summer I picked up *David Copperfield* meaning only to glance once more at some of the incidents I remembered for one reason or another. I found myself reading with such fascination and absorption that I didn't put the two thick volumes aside until I had read every page. What rich characterization, what marvelous satire, what genuine emotion, what story telling! No current novel seemed to me really interesting for months afterward.

IRITA VAN DOREN

* * *

It is hard to narrow a choice to one book published in the last thirty years if only because those thirty years must compete with the preceding three thousand years. But I shall pick a book I find literally memorable (I think of it from time to time). It is a novel, a form not much admired by the serious nowadays, by an author whose reputation is in decline. The book is *Doctor Faustus* by Thomas Mann. It is an allegory on the idea of evil: an artist's pact with the devil can be read for a nation's pact with darkness. Aesthetically, the work pleases; it burns with a sulphrous light. More important, as nationalism and strenuous adventure again suggest themselves to leaders and journalists, such a book serves as a useful warning.

GORE VIDAL

* * *

So far we know very little about *Finnegans Wake.* In many parts of the world students are deciphering various portions of it and finding them often funny, occasionally very beautiful, for the most part maddeningly elusive. It may be that Joyce has found a style that combines all that man has reported of himself—from the Pentateuch and The Book of the Dead to Marie Corelli and from the Koran to Rider Haggard—and all that man seeks to know about himself, from leaning over the Tarot cards to psychoanalysis. Great or not, it

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may be the work that reveals all other works as parochial—Dante and the Pauline Epistles as wrapped up in their little sectarian worlds as is the Book of Mormon. All that we can glimpse so far is that it is the design for that book that Goethe foresaw: a work of "world literature." We know very little about *Finnegans Wake,* but until we know more we have the fun, the beauty, the exasperation and the intimations of awe.

THORNTON WILDER

* * *

Arnold J. Toynbee's *Study of History* has won more censure than praise from professional historians, especially historians of his native land. The impact he has made is better attested by the distinction of his critics than by the number and quality of his converts. If his contribution is measured by the durability of his theories, the prospect is dimmed by his recent volume of genial *Reconsiderations,* which proves that not even their author can cling to them all. What assures his fame is the disturbance he has caused, especially the disturbance to the complacency of specialists, the pretensions of nationalists, racists and Western chauvinists, and the dogmas of religionists of all sects.

C. VANN WOODWARD

* * *

Whitehead seems to me the most spacious and broadly human writer of our times, and *Adventures of Ideas* his most representative and comprehensive contribution to our civilization. His majestic portrayal of the history of freedom and organization has enduring insights for politics, jurisprudence and ethics. His imaginative understanding of the unfolding of scientific knowledge outlines a cosmology more nearly adequate than any contemporary approach. His profound religious awareness reaches the sense of mystery in both formal believers and professed sceptics. His style bespeaks the loftiness of his mind and the noble peace of his spirit.

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—EDITOR

As a student of modern theology, I was pleased to see an article on the subject published in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR ("The Evasions of Modern Theology" by Samuel Sandmel, AS: Summer, 1961). While I am grateful for Mr. Sandmel's frank expression of dissatisfaction with contemporary theological effort, I regret that his approach is so unscholarly in its documentation, specificity, fairness and acquaintance with the field.

Mr. Sandmel is exceedingly vague in his definitions of religion, theology and philosophy. For example, he says: "Let us define religion as the spontaneous, intuitive, unmeditated experience of a person." (Experience of what? Also, to limit religion to "unmeditated experience" is to exclude major areas of religious experience and theological formulation.) More serious than his unsatisfactory definitions (which lead him to formulate a ridiculous task for theology) is that he completely ignores the definitions of these key terms given by the major theological thinkers today whom Mr. Sandmel supposedly is attacking. Is it not presumptuous for a confessed "amateur" theologian to give definitions that would be almost wholly unsatisfactory to "Tillich, Barth, Niebuhr, Buber and Bultmann"?

Mr. Sandmel asks, "Has modern theology sought to communicate to the ordinary intelligent person? Has it tried to vie in the market place of ideas with those movements characterized by Darwin, Freud, Marx and Einstein? Or has it instead developed into the property of a coterie of specialists who can communicate, if at all, only with each other?"

As regards the first and third questions, I can say (contrary to Mr. Sandmel's personal reactions) that I have known a physicist, a research chemist, a psychiatric social worker, a politician, an analytic philosopher, an office secretary, a janitor, many students of the Bible, and other so-called "ordinary intelligent persons" who have read and discussed Tillich, the Niebuhrs, Buber, et cetera with both critical and appreciative insight.

In regard to the second question, may I suggest that Mr. Sandmel and other interested readers study the following as examples of how a few contemporary theologians have sought to encounter important cultural movements: Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture;* Karl Barth, *Against the Stream;* H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture, Radical Monotheism and Western Culture;* Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man;* John Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science;* Roger Hazelton, *New Accents in Contemporary Theology.*

One may be dissatisfied with the efforts of these men (as I often am), but certainly it is erroneous to suggest they have not tried to speak relevantly to movements characterized by Darwin, Freud, Marx and Einstein.

Mr. Sandmel is often misleading and unspecific in his characterizations of theological content. He writes that "We see now in modern theology a total denial of any capacity in man." I don't know a single prominent theologian today to whom such an absurdity could be applied. Or again, he says that it "has become commonplace" and "startling to read or hear that the New Testament and Rabbinic literature are the best textbooks in psychiatry. It is astonishing to read that Jesus was the greatest psychiatrist of all times." If this sort of thing is so "commonplace" in modern theology, Mr. Sandmel ought at least to give some concrete references. As a matter of fact, no important theological thinker today would indulge in such ridiculous statements.

In the final analysis, Mr. Sandmel's cavalier criticisms turn back upon himself. He has evaded responsibility for dealing carefully and

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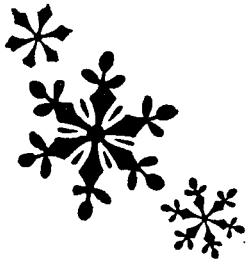

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discriminatingly with the material that he attacks. He is "clever and cute" but not convincing. His article has "startlingly little substance or relevancy" to what is actually going on in contemporary theology.

I do hope that the editors of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR will publish sometime in the near future a more scholarly article on contemporary theological effort.

ROGER WM. JOHNSON
Ph.D. candidate in Christian Theology
Harvard University

* * *

Respecting Mr. Johnson's letter, I am, as my article states, an amateur. Mr. Johnson identifies himself as on the threshold of professionalism; thereby I understand the tone of indignation in his letter.

It chances that I have read most of the books he lists, and a good many others. They are why I feel as I do.

I stand by my assessment. Moreover, I am a religionist, writing from within a religionist framework. Accordingly, my distress at theological writings is acute.

SAMUEL SANDMEL
Hebrew Union College

* * *

I have long been a devoted reader of the writings of Joseph Wood Krutch—in and out of your journal, but never have I read as heart-touching and as lucid an exposition of the human need for God's other creatures of this earth, the animals and plants, as in the Summer, 1961, issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. (To two of us, my wife and myself, it has registered with powerful impact and inspired even more of an appreciation and love for these fellow inhabitants of our planet.)

And may I take the liberty of saying that from a file beginning with Volume I, I can always take down a number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR and be sure of rereading some article of thought-provoking and deeply interesting matter.

So I want only to say, thank you for a journal that has long meant a great deal.

FORREST N. ANDERSON, M.D.
Van Nuys, California

* * *

As I read "A Fable of Time and Class" by K. R. Minogue [AS: Spring, 1961], I kept nodding my head saying, "But, of course, but of course"—until I reached page 207, where he

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said that few people now subscribe to such theories as Marxism, Progress and historicist social theories.

I suppose he is talking about the writers for and the readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR; if so, I can agree readily with his estimate that a small number remain unenlightened. But if he includes the whole of the "literate and scientific world," I must adduce some awkward evidence for him. While vacationing here in Guatemala I have been reading issues of the *Soviet Review* alternately with those of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and there appear to be an awful lot of Soviet scholars who take seriously the Marxist theories. They include references, citations and quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin in every article—from telepathy to psychology, from state theories to literary creativity. When you consider the numerical strength of the Communist-dominated world—shall we reckon them in the millions?—you cannot say that *only* a few people subscribe to Marxist theories.

I have also enjoyed greatly Mr. DeMott's shrewd analyses in his article "Literary Party: National Book Awards" [AS: Summer, 1961]. I read it alongside B. Meilakh's "The Psychology of Literary Creation" [*Soviet Review*, November, 1960], which gave it a special fillip.

There's an idea for you: Why not an article, or extended comment, or round-up from time to time, comparing the contents and approach of Soviet learned writings with those of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR and other U. S. journals?

FREDERICK C. DYER
Washington, D. C.

* * *

The connections between the arts and the sciences interest me greatly. But these connections can be deceptive; it is easy to see relations in areas where on closer inspection there are none.

In particular, I wonder if quantum physics offers as much insight into creativity as Douglas Angus thinks ["Quantum Physics and the Creative Mind," AS: Spring, 1961]. He raised one point concerning quantum physics and free will; although the probability aspects of quantum mechanics have been used to support the concept of free will, this connection has been disputed. Four points are pertinent:

1. It is questionable if the kind of probability quantum mechanics offers us is what is wanted for "free will." The individual measurement cannot be precisely predicted, but the distribution of a group of similar measurements can,

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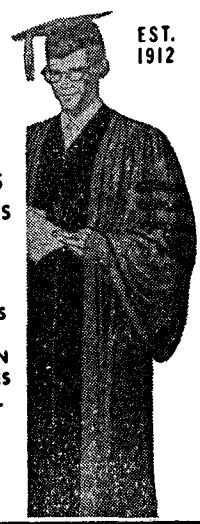

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given the state of the system. Cassirer and Schrödinger have argued that this is not what is needed to support free will.

2. Some physicsts (Schrödinger, de Broglie, Bohm) are unhappy with the probability or "Copenhagen" interpretation of quantum mechanics, so this aspect is not as settled as one might believe from the popularizations of quantum mechanics.

3. There is at present no adequate theory of elementary particles. As the theory is unknown, its relation to quantum mechanics is also unknown.

4. The general procedure of using a physical theory to support philosophical conclusions is fraught with danger. Philip Frank has pointed out that this is particularly true of quantum mechanics, which has been used to support a wide variety of philosophical conclusions. Because a scientific theory is always subject to revision and eventual rejection, philosophical information derived from it suffers in the same way.

ALFRED M. BORK
University of Alaska

* * *

It would appear that Mr. Edmund Fuller [AS: Summer, 1961] has published, in seven tender pages, a heartfelt one-page comment on Gladys Schmitt. He says she writes historical novels more to his taste than modern ones, that she understands people and has done sound library work, and that he does not care for Proust and therefore cannot evaluate one of the more interesting comparisons made concerning Miss Schmitt. His entire review is suffused with literary love for an author to whom he attributes —*this correspondent will not say wrongly*—an awesome grasp of human psychology and of some mystical vision.

As to particulars, one must protest (and Mr. Fuller agrees in principle) that Old Testament and New Testament atmospheres are imposed after the living, and should be described, where they are relied upon as artistic framework, so that they are meaningful even to those who find both Old and New Testaments bereft of supernatural message. The spectacle of Paulina and the other Christians going out to be macerated by lions (*Confessors of the Name*) is not majestic in the eyes of one who may feel that such Christians proceeded to their permanent annihilation. Such events must be represented in terms of human meaning that do not depend upon a reader's acceptance of either the pagan or the Judaeo-Christian pantheons.

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The quarrel here is rather with the reviewer than with the author. It does seem admissible to quarrel wholesomely with any reviewer who dares to set upon a scholar's page the curtain line, "She knows that the price of grandeur is paid with anguish." This comment on a comment is made without malice toward Mr. Fuller, whom I have never met, and who has unquestionably read every word of every work of Gladys Schmitt, which I have not.

J. FLEISHMAN
Yonkers, New York

* * *

We have no complaint with David Riesman's article, "Tocqueville as Ethnographer" [AS: Spring, 1961], but we would like to point out that Alexis de Tocqueville may not be the primary source for some of the ideas on America that are generally ascribed to him.

Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story in a letter of May 9, 1840, to Francis Lieber stated that Tocqueville "borrowed the greater part of his reflections from American works, and little from his own observations. The main body of his materials will be found in *The Federalist,* and in Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution—sic vos non vobis.*" (The complete letter will be found in the Joseph Story manuscript collection of the Henry E. Huntington Library, California.) Justice Story's son, William Wetmore Story, in his two volume work, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* (Boston, 1851) v. 2, p. 329, said: ". . . it is a little singular, that though such extensive use is made of my father's *Commentaries on the Constitution* . . . no acknowledgment is made, and the *Commentaries* are scarcely referred to by name."

General Francis J. Lippitt declared that "there are very few persons aware of the fact that I once assisted M. de Tocqueville in preparing materials for his celebrated work." The General held daily conferences with Tocqueville, during which they discussed the materials that went into the book, yet Lippitt said: "I knew nothing of his intention to write a book until after my return to America in 1835, when *La Democratie en Amerique* had already appeared." (*Democracy in America,* New York, 1898, v. 1, p. xvii).

It has also been said that Tocqueville failed "to acknowledge his indebtedness to (Jared) Sparks for a good part of the matter in Chapter V of Part I. . . ." (*Romanic Review,* 1828, v. 19, p. 200, note 15).

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